Tamil TIMES

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*We await the response of many more.*
*Circulation Manager*

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# THE CULPRITS BEHIND ANTI-TAMIL VIOLENCE

Who are the real culprits behind the recent anti-Tamil violence in Sri Lanka? The government, having initially blamed it on "some powerful foreign power" (an euphemism for Soviet Union), has now commenced a campaign of villifying three left parties. Others have openly accused sections of the government party itself. The attempt by President Jayawardene to hold an all-Party Conference on 20th July to "eliminate terrorism" collapsed when all opposition parties boycotted it. Agreeing to a suggestion by the Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC) to enlarge the scope of the Conference with a view to discussing all matters pertaining to the "Tamil problem", the President summoned another all-party Conference to be held on 27th July.

According to Mr.H.W.Jayawardene, the brother of the President who was sent as special emissary to New Delhi, the President had intended to place the following five points for consideration by the Conference:

* Full implementation of District Development Council laws and possible increase in the Councils' powers;
* The use of Tamil language as a national language as provided in the Constitution;
* Amensty for political detainees provided the use of violence is abandoned;
* Discontinuing the active role of the armed forces in the northern province once the use of violence is ended;
* Repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Presumably these were matters which the President had previously discussed with the leadership of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). But what the President had not reckoned with were the evil forces he had been assiduously nurturing and surrounding himself with over the years. In fact these forces had grown in strength with an abundance of state patronage and ministerial support. Using the opportunity of the ambush in Jaffna on July 23 in which 13 soldiers were killed, the long-hatched plan of genocidal attack upon the Tamils was put into emmediate effect.

The President waited for four long days and nights of arson and murder, pillage and plunder before he came on TV to capitulate to the forces that surrounded him. He was confronted with an unholy alliance of some of his Ministers, his Party stalwarts, sections of the security forces and above all the extremist section of the Buddhist clergy demanding extreme measures against the Tamils and their leaders. They wanted him to give in to the"clamour and natural requst of the Sinhala people" which he dutifully did. Finding common cause with these evil forces, he never uttered one word denoucing the insane violance that had been unleashed against the Tamil people. Instead, his speech was an encouragement to further violence, so much so the Guardian correspondent from Colombo, David Beresford, commenting after the President's second TV appearance said, "The President's lengthy and rambling speech was noteworthy in that once again he failed specifically to condemn the pogrom against the Tamil minority"

INCONTROVERTIBLE EVIDENCE

There is incontrovertible evidence that the plan for the July massacre of the Tamil people was masterminded and details worked out and executed with crude and inhuman savagery by forces within the government itself. The individuals concerned go right to the top echelons.

A Human Rights Group located in Netherlands has produced a report based on eye witness accounts, inside information, telephone conversations, telex messages and photographs which directly implicate Ministers and MPs of the ruling party and their associates, some Buddhist priests and sections of the armed forces. Predictably and not unexpectedly, figuring high on the list is the Minister of Industry

With regard to the cold-blooded and calculated nature of the July anti-Tamil blitzkireg, the Minister of State, Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis, in his TV address on 29th July said:

*"Look at some of the facts that you know for yourself. As I told the Press briefing on Wednesday after the Cabinet Meeting, there was a pattern about this, wherever the rioting took place. You may recall that His Excellency the President, when he addressed the Nation, also referred to this general pattern of events, from place to place. The similarity of the action of those who took part in it. How can there be a pattern if there was no leadership? Pre-planning, instruction about what each group was to do. You saw for yourself, for example, that although riots took place, burnings of houses and shops took place in widely different parts of the city and its suburbs, there was a distinct method in every case. The rioters came along, took out the people from their homes, or the employees and proprietors from the shops, put them on the road, then carried some of the goods on to the road and set fire to them. Then they proceeded inside the workshop, or factory or house, to set fire to the rest. Now, if this happened in Borella and didn't happen in Nugegoda, then there is no pattern; then there is no unity of design; there was no instruction. But where it happened, it was exactly in the same way. This was the pattern.*

*Of course there was looting, but there were - according to information now in the hands of the Government - definite instructions not to loot. This instruction was given apparently in order not to attract public disapproval and resistance to what they were doing, or the people doing it. Further, the looting that took place was an activity in which the locals took part. (As you know the thugs and hooligans you find in every street junction were happy to do the looting once the job had been done).*

*So to that degree, there was a pattern. Another thing that everybody noticed, or most people noticed if they were looking, was that the looters, or the*

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TAMIL TIMES

# TALKS ON THE ROCKS?

WHEN Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayawardene sent his lawyer-brother, Mr. H.W. Jayawardene, to New Delhi and later "welcomed" the good offices of India to commence negotiations on the "Tamil problem", it aroused a degree of hope in peoples' minds.
The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, having emphasised India's "natural concern" over the atrocities committed against the Tamil people of Sri Lanka, asserted that the problem called for immediate solution and pin-pointed two matters: (a) the question of the security of the life and property of the Tamils, and (b) the long term solution to the vexed question of Sinhala-Tamil relations. She promptly despatched her much respected and experienced foreign policy consultant, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, to Colombo for talks with the Sri Lankan President.

The President, in a press interview, is now reported to have said that the Tamil question was purely an internal matter and that India had no role to play.
To the Tamil people of Sri Lanka, the conduct of the President has come as no surprise. Such back-tracking and breach of faith are characteristic of Mr. Jayawardene or, for that matter, of all previous Sri Lankan governments. Betrayed time and time again, very few Tamils can possibly harbour any more illusions.

At the time of negotiations with Britain for Independence, the Sinhala leaders agreed that the Tamil plantation population should be allocated 11 seats in the independent parliament. In 1948, within one year after independence, the United National Party (UNP) government deprived the "Indian" Tamils of their franchise and citizenship rights, thus rendering them voteless, voiceless and stateless overnight.
At the time of independence and until almost 1956, the UNP and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the two mainstream Sinhala political parties, accepted the policy that English should be replaced by Sinhala and Tamil as official languages. But suddenly, in total defiance of Tamil opinion, Sinhala was declared the only official language in 1956 with the support of these two parties.

In 1957, the then Prime Minister, the late Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, entered into a pact (B-C Pact) with the Tamil Federal Party leader, the late Mr. S.J.V.Chelvanayakam, primarily on three matters concerning the Tamil people - the question of the use of Tamil language in the administration of the country, setting up of regional councils for the northern and eastern provinces where Tamils predominated, and the question of colonisation and land distribution in these two provinces. This pact was unilaterally abrogated by Mr. Bandaranaike under pressure from racist sections of the Buddhist clergy, ably assisted by the present President, Mr. Jayawardene.
In 1965, again the then Prime Minister, the late Mr. Dudley Senanayake, entered into an agreement with the late Mr. Chelvanayakam on some of the issues covered by the B-C Pact. This agreement too was not honoured.
The present President was returned to power in July 1977 with a massive majority upon an election manifesto which declared that an all-party conference will be summoned to solve, without loss of time, Tamil grievances relating to discrimination in the use of Tamil language, colonisation and land distribution, employment in the state sector and higher education. This election pledge has not been fulfilled.
The President has had long and protracted negotiations with the leadership of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) since August 1977. But neither he nor his government has done anything tangible to implement any of the agreed proposals.
The current prevarication and dilly-dallying by the President on the subject of using the "good offices" of the Indian government are in full accord with the reputation that successive Sri Lankan governments have built over the years that they can never be trusted. The Tamil people of Sri Lanka knew it all along. India and the world will come to realise this soon if they have not done so already. The unacceptable demand that the TULF should abandon "separatism" as a precondition for the commencement of talks is only a convenient excuse to wriggle out of the situation.


## THANGA THAMIL EELAM

A BALLET

*by*

**RAJI RADHAKRISHNAN**

from the Vazhuvoor B.Ramiahpillai school of Bharata Natiyam

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## LAST LETTER TO PRESIDENT AS LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

# "WE WILL CONTINUE TO STRUGGLE TO LIBERATE OUR PEOPLE" - AMIRTHALINGAM

His Excellency J.R.Jayewardene
President,
Colombo.
August 1983.

Your Excellency,
Since your Excellency was elected to power in July 1977, I have had occasion to write several letters to place before you various problems affecting the Tamil people. My colleagues and I have met Your Excellency and your ministers on numerous occasions to discuss matters concerning our people. I wish to thank Your Excellency for the unfailing courtesy of your replies to my letters and the cordiality of the talks we had during the last six years. As this may perhaps be the last letter I write as Leader of the Opposition (which office I got quite by fortuitous circumstances) I hope you will pardon the length of this letter and my releasing it to the press (the almighty censor willings).

**1977 TO 1983**

The first letter I wrote to Your Excellency was in August 1977, pleading for action to maintain law and order and to safeguard the lives and property of the Tamil people who were the victims of planned violence started by the Sinhala police in Jaffna on 16th August 1977, and carried out with ruthless efficiency by Sinhala hoodlums resulting in the deaths of about 300 Tamils, injury to over 10,000 people, raping of about 200 Tamil women, destruction and looting of property belonging to Tamils worth about a billion rupees and the driving out of their homes and evacuation to the north and east of about 50,000 Tamil people. (There can be no more eloquent testimony to the untter failure of the Government to solve this problem than the fact that I am writing this letter, after six years, in the wake of violence and destruction against against the person and property of Tamil people more brutal and more complete than any in the past). Over 100,000 Tamil people have been displaced and driven to refugee camps, their houses having been completely distroyed. The destruction and plunder of property belonging to Tamils will run into several billion rupees.

The loss of life will exceed two thousand, though it is not yet possible to fix the number with any certainty as every family arriving in the north and east is coming with tales of cruel killing and burning of men, women and children by Sinhala mobs and armed forces.

There appears to be one significant difference between the situation in 1977 and in 1983. In 1977 the armed forces were fairly disciplined but as Your Excellency is reported to have told the New Delhi correspondent of the B.B.C. "the recent riots revealed a serious lack of discipline in the armed forces and there is strong anti-Tamil feeling among the troops and in some cases they actually encouraged rioting". (A.J.R. news bulletin 8.8.83 morning). I will go further and say the armed forces were directly involved in the killing, looting and destruction of Tamils and their property in Jaffna, Vavuniya, Trincomalee, Colombo and other places.

**THE DEMAND FOR A SEPARATE STATE:**

It has become the stock excuse for all the violence against Tamils to say that it is due to the demand for a separate state. How then does one account for the violence against Tamils in Colombo, Amparai and other places in June 1956? What was the excuse for Emergency '58 and the Islandwide holocaust against Tamils in 1958? It will be admitted that there was no question of any demand for a separate state at that time. The demand for a separate state is in fact the result of grievances of the Tamil people, accumulated over quarter of a century, including repeated communal riots in the Sinhala provinces in the fifties followed by police and Army violence in the northern and eastern provinces in the sixties and seventies.

Your Excellency's United National Party itself in its 1977 Election manifesto identified the grievances of the Tamil speaking people over language, education, colonisation, employment and economic development as having driven some of them to demand a separate state. Having diagnosed the disease correctly the Government failed to give the proper treatment. Even where certain medicines were prescribed they remained as prescriptions and were never administered to the patient. Is it any surprise that the condition has deteriorated over the last six years of Your Excellency's Government?

**LANGUAGE RIGHTS OF TAMILS.**

Ministers of your Government have repeatedly said that this Government had granted the language rights of the Tamils and that we should be grateful for it. In 1958 Mr. Bandaranaike passed the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) act which embodies the main principles of all subsequent legislation on Tamil language rights. But neither he nor the succeeding S.L.F.P. Government cared to implement the Act which remained a dead letter. On 8th January 1966, Your Excellency moved in Parliament the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Regulations in accordance with the Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayagam pact, on which the Tamil Federal Party supported the U.N.P to form the Government in 1965. But those regulations also were never implemented by the U.N.P. Government or the United Front Government that followed. The refusal of that Government to include those regulations in the 1972 Constitution and the walk-out by Tamil members, including Mr.K.W. Devanayagam of the U.N.P., from the Constituent Assembly are matters of history.

Your Government included certain rights of the Tamil language in the 1978 Constitution. Though these fall short of the official status the Tamil-speaking people were agitating for, we welcomed the imporvements in the status accorded to Tamil as a National Language. The Government has failed to implement the language provisions and your ministers are busy finding excuses for their non-implementation over the last five years. Even elementary rights like correspondence in Tamil are not observed. Can any one blame the Tamil people, who have been struggling for their language rights for the last twenty seven years, if they refuse to be satisfied with more paper rights for their language? So much for the oft-repeated and much-vaunted language rights for which the T.U.L.F. is charged with being ungrateful.

**DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT COUNCILS.**

The second major concession made to the Tamils by this Government is said to be the establishment of District Development Councils as instruments of devolution of power. In the face of strong opposition from our own ranks, the T.U.L.F. accepted the District Development Councils.

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Your Excellency started this exercise in July 1979 and what have we achieved in the matter of actual development during the last four years? On the eve of the elections to the D.D.C. in 1981 your Government's Sinhala police mutinied in Jaffna and burnt half of Jaffna town including the headquarters of the T.U.L.F., the house of the M.P. for Jaffna and the Jaffna Public Library with its invaluable collection of 97,000 books. Two of your ministers were in Jaffna supervising operations including the arrest of T.U.L.F. members of Parliament and the nefarious things done in connection with the elections on 4th June, 1981. In spite of all these we entered the District Development Councils. After two years it cannot be denied that the Government has failed to make them function effectively. The attitude and actions of the Government in the matter reveal a want of earnestness and lack of a sense of urgency in implementing even meagre concessions made to the Tamil people.

**THE HAND OF FRIENDSHIP.**

Ministers and the Government-controlled press have repeatedly charged the T.U.L.F. with failing to grasp the hand of friendship proffered by Your Excellency Whenever we were invited for discussions with the Government, even when the Tamil people had been the victims of violence instigated by your own party men as in 1981, we responded and participated. Whatever the T.U.L.F. agreed to do was unfailingly carried out by us. We cannot be blamed for certain happenings which were beyond our control. We are not the Government responsible for law and order in our areas. But can Your Excellency say that the Government has carried out the matters it agreed to do in the Inter-Party Committee talks that went on for thirteen months. I may mention some of the matters:

**1. District Development Councils - nothing done to make them effective as agreed.**

**2. Posting a majority of Tamil speaking policemen in Tamil areas- Carried out in Jaffna District but not done in any of the other Tamil districts as promised. Most of the trouble we had in Trincomalee and Vavuniya in June and July could have been avoided if this had been implemented.**

**3. Recruitment of more Tamils into the police and the armed forces so as to make these services function in a nonpartisan way in times of ethnic tension. This promise has not been kept by the Government.**

**4. Compensation for victims of Police violence in May-June has been only partially paid. It has not been paid to victims in Chunnakam and Kankesanturai as agreed to at the Inter-Party Committee. Only two million out of the ten million rupees awarded by the Lionel Fernando Commission to the burnt Jaffna Public Library has been paid from the President's Fund.**

**5. Though prosecutions were initiated against some of the Police men responsible for killing and arson in Chunnakam and Kankesanturai in May- June 1981 none of them was arrested and produced at the Mallakam Magistrate's Court and now these cases have been transferred to Colombo where the victims dare not appear and testify.**

**6. Home-guards were not established as promised though names were sent up and cleared by the police.**

**7. Agreements reached about the Punnaikudah housing scheme and the Keviliyamadu village in the Batticaloa District have not been implemented up to date. I wrote a letter to Your Excellency regarding these two matters last month.**

**8. The Government has not removed the illegally erected Buddha Statue at Vavuniya junction though Your Excellency gave the order to remove it at the very first meeting of the Inter-Party Committee in August 1981. If the Government is so absolutely powerless in removing an irritant to the Tamil people illegally erected by certain Sinhala public servants, can the Tamil people expect justice where Sinhala chauvinism dictates otherwise?**

**9. The promises made by the Government with regard to employment of Tamils in the public sector were not kept. The circulars issued and countermanded by the Secretary to the Ministry of Plan Implementation regarding employment in the Tamil Districts are too sordid to discuss at length here.**

**10. The agreement to limit the Executive Committees in Mannar, Vavuniya and Mullaitivu to three members so as not to make the majority in these D.D.C.'s a minority in the Executive Committees, and the subsequent appointment of a U.N.P. member to the Executive Committee in Vavuniya, the resignation of this member when the failure to comply with the law was pointed out and the later nomination of the same man again are good examples of the way Government promises are kept.**

I have mentioned above a few of the matters which were agreed upon at the Inter-Party Committee in order to show why we regarded bilateral talks between the T.U.L.F. and the Government as a futile exercise. The Prime Minister asked us in Parliament why we did not attend the all-party conference summoned by Your Excellency. When other parties had not responded to the invitation the all party conference would have been only a continuation of the Inter-Party meeting we had for more than a year and with the result I have shown above. I was constrained to reply to the Prime Minister in Parliament that we did not think any useful purpose would be served by bilateral talks between us and the Government when 90% of the matters agreed upon in earlier talks was never implemented.

**Violence against the Tamil people and the Sixth Amendment**

Incidents of army men shooting and killing people in Jaffna and some youths killing some service personnel or some civilian has been going on for a few years. However much we may deprecate this situation it had become part of the reality in Jaffna. Assaults by members of the armed forces on pedestrians, cyclists or motor cyclists with iron rods or long poles they carried in their trucks and jeeps, or injury to person or damage to windscreen or glasses of motor vehicles or even window panes of houses by being pelted with stones from army and navy vehicles have been almost daily occurrences in Jaffna. Many people who complained to us preferred not to make complaints to the police for fear of reprisals. On the afternoon of the 29th July my own car was pelted with a stone from a passing navy vehicle and my windscreen was smashed. I complained to the Naval commander at Karainagar who promised to look into it. In this background of continual harassment, assault and humiliation of the people by armed forces behaving like an army of occupation is it surprising if youths who attack these service personnel tend to be looked upon as heroes? One has to live in this atmosphere of interminable harassment to understand this attitude. This routine is upset periodically when some serviceman is shot. Reprisals against innocent civilians follow immediately. As happened at Kantharmadam in Jaffna on the 18th May, and at Vavuniya on the 1st June, all houses, shops and business places in the vicinity were attacked, looted and burnt and innocent people were beaten up and killed.

The usual excuse is that some members of the armed forces had mutinied anf gone on a rampage. Prior to 1981 it was the Sinhala police that behaved in this manner. After the police force in Jaffna

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was made 'majority Tamil' there was no trouble from the police. Now it is the army and the navy in Jaffna; the army, the air force and the police in Vavuniya; the police, the army, the navy and the air force all combined in Trincomalee; and the army in Mannar that attack the people. In Mannar I saw with my own eyes the car of the D.D.C. Chairman smashed and his driver and clerk beaten up by army men from the Thalladi camp on 25th July. Have the Tamil people no right to freedom from these attacks on their person and property by the police and the armed forces? Is not the Government bound to pay heed to the feelings of these innocent victims? Your Excellency, in your broadcast to the nation on T.V. and the radio, at the height of attacks on Tamils by Sinhala mobs and armed forces, you stated that you had to pay heed to the demand and national feeling of the Sinhala people and therefore you were introducing the sixth amendment to the constitution. The voice of the Tamil people crying for justice and the right to live and safeguard their hard-earned property goes unheeded. At a time when murder, arson and plunder are being perpetrated against the Tamil people the Government surrenders to the aspirations of the marauding mobs and enacts the sixth amendment. I would most humbly submit to Your Excellency that this is a further outrage on our people and their right to peacefully agitate for their political rights and freedom. This amendment embodies the justice of the lynch mob where you further punish and humuliate the victim and not the criminal; the oppressed and not the oppressor.

**The events of the last two months: Trincomalee.**

Violence against Tamil people did not break out suddenly as a result of the killing of thirteen soldiers in Jaffna on the night of the 23rd July. It actually started on a planned basis with the attack on Mansion Hotel in Trincomalee on the 3rd June. The police and the army who searched these premises before the attack by the market Sinhala hoodlums definitely stand implicated in this attack. They not only failed to stop the attack and destruction of this hotel but even failed to take action to arrest the perpetrators of the crime. The violence that was started on the 3rd June went on with ebb and flow for over two months till about two days ago. Twenty seven Tamils have been killed during this period as against one Sinhalese.

**FATE OF 600 UNKNOWN**

As the Government itself admitted, about 150 Navy personnel went on a rampage and destroyed about 200 Tamil business places and houses in Trincomalee town in six hours on the night of the 26th July. With the assistance of the police and army about 200 houses of Tamils were burnt in the Trincomalee District and 1,500 persons who were rendered homeless had to seek shelter as refugees in school buildings. As if the loss and the suffering they had already undergone were not sufficient, the Commander of the Navy forcibly put about 600 of these refugees into buses at 1 a.m. on the night of the 24th July and took them to unknown destinations. When I brought this matter to Your Excellency's notice the next morning, you said that you were informed they had volunteered to go back to the estates. You will be surprised to learn that a good number of them were voters in Trincomalee most of whom had permit lands and some private lands in Trincomalee. The fate of these persons in the present spate of violence in the plantation districts in not known. This action of the Navy is typical of the racially motivated and partisan conduct of the armed forces in the present crisis. How can you expect the Tamil people to have confidence in these forces to protect them and their property from Sinhala killers and looters?

There seems to be a calculated move to drive the Tamils out of Trincomalee by terrorising them. The visit of Mr. Jayaweera of the Ministry of Industries to Trincomalee and the discussions he had with the police and service personnel at the height of the disturbances have created fear in the minds of the Tamil people that a powerful section of the Government is involved in this diabolical plot against the Tamil people of Trincomalee.

**DESTRUCTION OF HINDU TEMPLES.**

In the course of the last two months over ten Hindu temples in the Trincomalee district have been destroyed. The Navy personnel who ran riot on the 26th of July had set fire to the Chariot of the Sivan Temple, broken the Nandhi and had desecrated the sanctum sanctorum of the temple. It will not be out of place to mention here that in the riots directed against Tamil people in 1958, 1977, 1981 and in 1983 Hindu temples have been targets of attack. In 1977 eighteen Hindu Temples including the one at the Peradeniya University were destroyed. Reports by refugees from the plantation areas indicate that a number of Hindu temples in the plantation areas, like the one at Bandarawela, have been destroyed last week.

In this situation the speeches of Government party members about the veneration in which they hold the Hindu temples sound hypocritical.

**MASSACRE BY THE ARMED FORCES IN JAFFNA**

According to the figures available now over 50 innocent persons have been killed by the army in Jaffna during the last few weeks. In the Tinnevely and Kantharmadam areas about twenty people including University lecturers, engineers, students and even housewives have been shot in their homes and beds. The detachment of the army stationed at Mathagal had taken charge of a private mini-bus on the morning of the 24th and gone on a rampage spraying bullets on people walking on the roads, travelling in buses and in shops and markets. They had killed about thirteen persons including students, C.T.B. employees, an accountant and traders. It is the feelings of these trigger-happy killers that the Government feels obliged to pay heed to. In the eyes of the Government, their killing innocent Tamils does not seem to be a serious matter. But if any of these killers are killed it becomes a very serious matter. I wish to ask Your Excellency in all earnestness what action has the Government taken to stop this killing by the armed forces? They have got used to killing Tamils with impunity. In several instances, where innocent persons were killed in Jaffna and where courts have returned homicide verdicts, no action has been taken against the offenders. Are not the lives of Tamils entitled to the protection of the law? The armed forces are indulging in killing and maiming people; robbing and destroying their property. I have received complaints from people at Palaly and Kankesanturai that even their goats are shot and removed by the army. They dare not protest. Are we wrong in demanding that these armed forces be removed from our areas?

**MISCONDUCT OF THE ARMED FORCES IN VAVUNIYA.**

There have been many incidents of violence in which the armed forces were involved in Vavuniya and Mankulam areas during the last few weeks. I have an affidavit sworn by one Velu Subramaniam, a labourer of Thatchankulam, stating how his wife was raped by two airforce men on the night of the 30th July and how they had wanted the daughter to be made available to them the next day. A lorry belonging to the Puloly M.P.C.S. in Jaffna was returning from Anuradhapura transporting kerosene and diesel which were in short supply in Jaffna on the night of the 25th July. The lorry was set on fire and totally destroyed at Nochchimoddai, a few miles to the north of Vavuniya and the four occupants were killed and the decomposed bodies were discovered a few miles away. Villagers whom I have

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questioned have said that this was the work of Air-force men. Private buses and lorries plying between Colombo and Jaffna have been attacked and seriously damaged and passengers and occupants injured several times during the last three months by the army men stationed at Mankulam. I complained to the Prime Minister regarding this matter during Your Excellency's absence from the Island.

The police and members of the armed forces have now started systematically harassing and intimidating the Tamil refugees from the plantation areas who have settled down in Vavuniya after the 1977 riots. Tamil women working in the fields have been taken into Army trucks and dumped in the police station. Where can these people go when the Tamils all over the plantation districts are being attacked and driven to refugee camps? The action of the Naval Commander in forcibly removing Tamil refugees from Trincomalee to the estates and the harassment by the police and armed forces of the refugees long settled in Vavuniya make one think whether all these are part of a plan to drive the Tamils out of even Vavuniya.

## VIOLENCE IN THE REST OF THE COUNTRY.

Reports I have from Tamil refugees who have been the victims of violence in Colombo and other districts including plantation areas indicate a definite pattern in the attack. In most places the attackers had come in C.T.B. buses. On the coastline in Colombo trains had been stopped at several places to enable the looters to get down and attack each lane at Wellawatte and other places. The police and the armed forces had given all assistance and encouragement to the looters and arsonists. They shared the spoils in the looting and had shouted "Jayawewa" while passing mobs in action. Wherever Tamils resisted the looters had withdrawn, but the armed forces had entered those areas and shot and killed the Tamils who resisted the attack. I have definite reports that this happened in the Sea Street area in Colombo. Several of the so-called looters who were reported to have been shot and killed by the armed forces had entered those areas and shot and killed the Tamils who resisted the attack. I have definite reports that this happened in the Sea Street area in Colombo. Several of the so-called looters who were reported to have been shot and killed by the armed forces on 29th July were Tamils who were trying to safeguard their property or were fleeing from the pursuing mobs. It is in this situation where the armed forces were seriously wanting in discipline and were motivated by "strong anti-Tamil feeling" which made them encourage rioting that we appealed to Your Excellency to safeguard the lives and property of our people from the mutinous and anti-Tamil armed forces and the hysteric mobs by getting the assistance of the United Nations or of friendly countries. I cannot understand how Your Excellency expects troops with "strong anti-Tamil feeling" to protect the Tamils. When it is admitted by Your Excellency that the armed forces actually encouraged rioting, I am surprised at your reported statement to the Prime Minister of India that the Sri Lanka armed forces are capable of dealing with the situation. They cannot be running with the hare and hunting with the hound. The Government has failed in the elementary duty of safeguarding the lives and property of innocent Tamils (most of whom living outside the Northern and Eastern provinces had supported the U.N.P.), and thereby forefeited the moral right to rule them. I am sorry I have to say this to Your Excellency, particularly because of your broad cast to the nation.

The Tamil people do not believe that the left parties had any hand in the attack on them. They regard the attempt to implicate the Communist Party and the reference to certain dark forces by the Minister of State as being calculated only to win the sympathy and support of the Western Powers. This is, in their view, only an attempt to draw a "red" herring across the trail. The attack on the Tamil people is pure ethnic violence planned well ahead and executed with ruthlessness by forces close to the Government, the same forces that attacked the strikers in July, 1980; attacked Prof. Saratchandra and others at a meeting at the Buddhist Congress Hall and demonstrated before the houses of the judges. These forces include the armed forces for whom Mr.Cyril Mathew always holds a brief in Parliament.

## THE ATTACK ON THE PRIVATE RESIDENCE OF THE T.U.L.F. PRESIDENT AND THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION.

One of the first houses to be attacked in the early hours of the morning of the 25th was the private residence of Mr.Sivasithamparam, M.P. for Nallur and President of the T.U.L.F. Police authorities were alerted at the highest level of the impending attack, but no attempt was made to stop it. His car was burnt, house was looted and completely burnt and his wife and daughter had to scale a wall to save their lives. Security personnel arrived on the scene several hours later.

There was an attack on the house of Mr.Murugiah of Upali Associates on the 25th of July. Operations appear to have been directed by certain important personages of the U.N.P. Some of those men had entered my official residence which adjoins that house and robbed the belongings of the members of my staff who were living there. They jumped over the parapet wall and went into "Sravasti" for safety. They were chased away by the employees. Fortunately for them Mr.Nihal Seniviratne, the Secretary-General of Parliament, sent them to the refugee camps. The police officers who escorted them had been abusing me in the vilest of language and had sworn to cut me to pieces if I went to Colombo. These are the custodians of the law who are ertrusted with the duty of protecting Tamil Members of Parliament. I realised how correct Your Excellency and the Prime Minister were in advising me not to travel to Colombo and that you could not give me protection. Your subsequent offer appears to have been for purely political reasons and for the consumption of the world when a bill so intimately affecting the members of the T.U.L.F. was being rushed through.

## THE MASSACRE IN THE WELIKADE PRISON.

The blackest episode in the dark fortnight following the 23rd July was the massacre of the political prisoners at the Welikade prison. The Government cannot absolve itself of its responsibility, particularly when it had happened a second time. The judicial inquiry was held without anybody to watch the interests of the victims. There are several relevant questions which go un-answered. How did the Sinhala prisoners get out of their cells? How did the prisoners get the lethal weapons like axes, iron rods, knives and clubs into their hands? If they had overpowered the prison officials why were not the firearms available to them used on the violent prisoners? When a few days later some Tamil prisoners in Jaffna tried to escape four of them were shot dead. When on the second occasion eighteen Tamil prisoners were killed why were the Sinhalese prisoners not shot? The lives of the Sinhala prisoners are not doubt precious. But does not the same rule apply to Tamil prisoners? I was shocked when some Tamil refugees told me that a responsible Minister had stated in the refugee camp that the Sinhalese people were pacified only after the massacre at Welikade prison. The Tamil people are driven to the irresistible conclusion that prison authorities and army personnel were involved in the deliberate murder of these 53 Tamil political prisoners.

## RELIEF AND REHABILITATION MEASURES.

In these circumstances, Your Excellency

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## THE SIXTH AMENDMENT TO LANKA'S CONSTITUTION

# A CONSTITUTIONAL OUTRAGE

The Sixth Amendment to Sri Lanka's Constitution which prohibits political parties and individuals from demanding or advocating a separate state for the Tamil-speaking people as a solution to the intractable ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka constitutes an outrage and a gross violation of fundamental human rights recognised and guaranteed by the United Nations and other international charters. The fact that the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka approved the amendment as constitutional does not make it any less outrageous. Not that the learned Judges had any other choice in the matter. Only a few weeks previously, gangs of thugs, presumably belonging to the ruling United National Party, had attacked the homes of three Supreme Court judges for merely holding that a private citizens's (Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene) constitutionally guraranteed rights had been violated by the Sri Lanka police in that she was subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment. Instead of penalising the offending policeman, the government promptly announced his promotion to Inspector grade and the attack on the judges' homes soon followed. Such is the contempt the Sri Lankan rulers have for the Supreme Court of the land!

The Sixth Amendment was submitted for the Court's ruling at a time when the country was convulsed by the most violent rioting and rampage in the country's history, when murder, mutilation, rape, plunder and arson were the order of the day and when the country's security forces had gone berserk aiding and abetting marauding gangs of thugs and hoodlums in their anti- Tamil campaign of death and destruction. In this context and having regard to the treatment meted out to the three judges only a few weeks earlier, one should be endowed with an enormous amount of naivete to expect the judges to properly and impartially express their judicial view as to the constitutionality or otherwise of the amendment. Had they given a ruling disapproving the government's proposal, probably they would not have returned to their homes in one piece!

The government's case in support of the amendment put before the Supreme Court violates the United Nations Charter on freedom of expression. Sri Lanka is a member of the United Nations and therefore is subject to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the UN on 10th December, 1948. Article 19 of the Declaration provides:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

The government's case was put by the State's Counsel as follows: the amendment was against the demand for a separate state. Freedom of thought and conscience was the freedom to hold belief personally. It did not include the right to manifest one's thoughts. Hitherto it was no offence to advocate a separate state. Even a person from outside the country could not advocate a separate state. Even a foreigner who advocated Eelam would be culpable if he came into the country. In short, one could think within himself that a separate state was the only solution if the Tamils are to escape from the horrors of recurrent violence, but he could not communicate this thought directly or indirectly to any one else, even to his wife!

The draconian nature of the provisions of the Sixth Amendment is more mani-fest in the penalties it imposes. (a) Civic disability; (b) forfeiture of movable and immovable property; (c) deprivation of civic rights; (d) if a person happens to be a member of parliament, he or she would automatically cease to hold office; (f) if it is a political party. or other organisation or association, it shall for all purposes be proscribed; (g) any person who held office in such a party or association or organisation would be suject to penalties (a) to (d) above.

The deprivation of civic rights would be for a period of up to seven years. For the purposes of the Amendment, "civic rights"

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will not be surprised if the Tamil people look askant at the relief and rehabilitation measures announced by the Government. The move to vest all affected property in the Government looks to them a method of expropriating what the looters have not taken. The announcement regarding relief to workers who lost their employment is making the Tamil people think that the prime concern of the Government is the employment of Sinhala workers who have lost their earnings as a result of the destruction of factories where they were working. The reported departure of the International Red Cross Representatives who were here to assist in rehablilitation work creates further doubt regarding the way the whole matter is being handled. The Government should dispel these fears and announce their plans to rehabilitate Tamil refugees who have lost their homes and means of livelihood and cannot go back to their former places. It will be cruel to compel them to go back to the same place again. Top priority should be given to the case of these people who have no houses to go to and who will have to languish in refugee camps unless immediate arrangements are made to settle them in safe areas.

**THE SOLUTION.**

The Tamil people are being attacked and killed; their homes are being burnt and destroyed; their business places are looted and burnt; they are driven to refugee camps in their tens of thousands and are transported to the north and east by sea and by air. Tamil prisoners are being killed by Sinhala prisoners. Tamil University students are being chased out by Sinhala students. In the wake of these intolerable sufferings and hardships to which the Tamil people have been subjected, Your Excellency's Government had enacted the sixth amendment to the costitution to proscribe our party and to drive the elected representatives of the Tamils out of Parliament. We consider this amendment a further outrage on our people and their right to peacefully agitate for their political rights and freedom. Your Excellency will agree that as a self-respecting people we cannot allow these measures to stifle our voice and our will to resist oppression. This amendment is only seeking to legitimise through a legal device the conviction of the Sinhala mobs that the Tamils have no political freedom, no right to property or right to life.

This is the "demand and national feeling of the Sinhala people" to which the Government has bowed.

The Tamil people from all over the Island are being driven into ghettoes in the North and East by the Sinhala mobs. Even there, they are being harassed, humiliated and killed by the Sinhala armed forces. The T.U.L.F. has, through democratic and nonviolent means, been trying to win the freedom and fundamental rights of the oppressed Tamil nation. I assure Your Excellency that we will continue to strive through all nonviolent means to liberate our people from this horrible oppression.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
**(Signed) A.Amirthalingam.**
LEADER OF OPPOSITION AND SECRETARY GENERAL T.U.L.F.

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means:
(a) the right to obtain a passport;
(b) the right to sit for any public examination;
(c) the right to own any immovable property;
(d) the right to engage in any trade or other occupation, by or under any law - this would include practising any profession.

The sheer severity of the penalties is illustrated by the following exchange between the Judges and the State Counsel on the question of forfeiture of property:

Chief Justice: What is movable property?
Counsel: It includes everything.
Chief Justice' Even bed and bedding?
Justice Wimalaratne: Even clothes?
Counsel: Yes
Chief Justice: Then he would be left standing naked on the road.

Further, every Member of Parliament, Judicial Officer or other State Officers, including those practising professions and others holding posts in State Corporations, are required to take an oath, within one month of the coming into operation of the Amendment, stating that he will not "directly or indirectly, in or outside Sri Lanka, support, espouse, or promote, finance, encourage or advocate the establishment of a separate State within the territory of the Republic of Sri Lanka". Anyone who fails to take the oath will automatically cease to hold the post.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (referred to as the UN Covenants) recognise two basic political axioms: (a) All peoples have the right of self-determination; (b) Discrimination against any group on grounds of race, religion, language, political opinion etc is wrong. Article 1 (1) of the UN Covenants state: "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

Article 26 of the UN Covenants states: "All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

In the Sri Lankan context, the demand for the right of self-determination by the Tamil-speaking people in conformity with Article 1 (1) of the UN Covenants arose in the light of the gross violation of the rights and protection guaranteed under Article 26 by successive governments of Sri Lanka since 1948.

The July 1983 massacre of the Tamil-speaking people is concrete proof of the fact that they not only do not have physical protection but also they would be subjected to attacks of genocidal proportion if they or any section of them choose to exercise their right of free expression. Besides, the government itself has through the Sixth Amendment, outlawed the right of the Tamil-speaking people to even express openly their right of self-determination guaranteed by the UN Covenants.

## SRI LANKA

# HIRED THUGS

### *Amrit Wilson on Jayawardene's role in anti-Tamil violence*

THE NEAR GENOCIDE of Tamils in Sri Lanka has been depicted by the British press as two groups of black people savagely attacking and killing each other to the horror and inconvenience of British tourists. It is a picture that Sri Lanka's government would altogether approve - President Jayawardene claiming that he did not know of the army's attacks on civilians. But, gradually, with eyewitness accounts, telephone information and fact sheets coming clandestinely out of the country, a picture is building up which not only implicates leading members of the government and their associates, but suggests a planned and well coordinated operation reminiscent of the CIA fomented 'race riots' in Guyana in 1964.

Of these reports and fact sheets, two of the most detailed and carefully researched come from a solidarity group in the Netherlands, the Stichting Sri Lanka Weskgroep, whose members have just returned from Sri Lanka, and from an all-party group of mainly Sinhalese observers based in the country. Both come to the same conclusions - that the violence was deliberately started by the government and was carried out through the use of thugs, controlled and organised by members of a faction of the UNP ruling party close to Premadasa, the prime minister.

The British media, fed mainly through Sri Lankan government sources, have told us that the riots were triggered off by Sinhalese anger at the killing of 13 soldiers by Tamil terrorists. But both the Sinhalese all-party group and the Dutch organisation produce evidence to the contrary. Censorship, they point out, had been imposed in early June, ostensibly to defuse the possibly inflammatory effects of terrorist activity. But it was deliberately lifted to communicate the news of the murders of the soldiers (who, in fact, had been ambushed by guerrillas after the gang rape of three tamil schoolgirls by their unit). Information about the ambush (but not the rapes), the names of the dead soldiers and the date of their proposed cremation was placed by the government information department in most major newspapers. The bodies, which were not handed over directly to relatives, were then brought to Colombo and cremated in the main cemetery in front of a large gathering. The next day gangs of thugs were out on the streets and the attacks started.

These thugs have been an increasingly important part of the Sri Lankan political scene over the last few years. They are like storm troopers, employed by right-wing politicians and used freely at election time to intimidate, for example, voters. Earlier this year, as the Dutch group points out in its report, at least two MPs went in person to police stations to release their thugs, who had been arrested for attacking political opponents. In the present violence, the army, police and gangs of thugs acted in conjunction.

According to the report from the Sinhalese all-party group, small gangs of men provided with householders lists burned Tamil houses and flats (in Sinhalese-owned buildings, only the contents of Tamil homes were destroyed). They did this expertly, within sight of the President's house, a few yards away from the prime minister's residence, in blocks adjacent to or opposite police stations - taking care, on a hot dry morning, not to start fires which would spread to adjoining Sinhalese or Stateowned property. Accidents and violations of discipline were few. Some of us saw truck loads of soldiers cheering on the arsonists 'bands'.

In Mount Lavinia, a suburb of Colombo, thugs were led by UNP Councillor Tissa Abeysekara. In Jaela and Wattala, Joseph Michael, deputy minister of Labour, was seen leading his thugs. In the Maradana area of Colombo, thugs brought in from up to 100 miles away (and loyal to Premadasa, to M.H. Mohamed the transport minister and to Cyril Mattew, Minister of Industries) were identified by eye witnesses.

As the Netherlands group comments, there were some remarkable similarities to the post-election violence of 1977. But this time, with over 1,000 dead and 80,000 held under appalling conditions in refugee camps (where essential medical aid is kept locked up in government warehouses), violence by far exceeds that of any previous phase. The move to the North is resulting in an enforced and

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# COVER-UP OF MASSACRE IN THE PRISON

In the orgy of violence that engulfed almost the whole of the Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka in July, the most despicable, cowardly and gruesome act of criminality was enacted within the walls of the high security Welikade prison in Colombo when 52 Tamils held under the much maligned Prevention of Terrorism Act were hacked and clubbed to death within their cells in two instalments, on 25th and 27th July, 1983.

Soon after the first slaughter, the Government claimed that the detainees were murdered by fellow Sinhalese prisoners. The Government's story has been treated abroad with derision and total disbelief, for in a high security prison like Welikade, it would have been virtually impossible for such a mass scale massacre to take place without the active participation of or at least the passive collusion of the prison staff and other security forces.

As the Guardian (London) correspondent, David Beresford, reported from Colombo, after the killings on the 25th, anticipating further attacks, the remaining Tamil detainees made repeated representaions to the prison authorities at the highest level for protection. Despite this, at 4.30 p.m. on July 27th, a crowd wielding axes, iron bars, spikes, wooden clubs and knives attacked and killed a further 18 Tamil detainees. If the surviving Tamils had not fought a pitched battle with broken table legs none would have survived to tell the tale. Again the Government claimed that they were killed by Sinhalese prisoners who went out of control.

The Chief Magistrate of Colombo, Mr. Keerthi Srilal Wijewardene, who held an inquest after the killings on 25th July, whilst returning a verdict of homicide, confirmed the Government's initial claim that the Tamil detainees had been killed by fellow Sinhala prisoners having earlier over-powered the prison guards. He declared that "none of the prison officers or army officers summoned to the scene could have done anything under the circumstances to prevent the attack".

At the inquest Mr. C.T. Jansz, Acting Commissioner of Prisons, M Alexis Leo de Silva, Superintendent of Prisons, Mr. Liyanage Don Jayatissa, a jail guard, and Mr. Mahinda Saturasinghe, Second Lieutenant, gave evidence. The substance of their evidence was as follows;

* Normally there were only prison officers for security purposes, but at the time of the killings, they were provided guards from the armed services.

* There were between 800 to 850 other convicted prisoners housed in the upstairs of the building while 73 of the Tamil detainees were housed in the ground floor.

* At about 2 p.m. on 25th July 300 to 400 Sinhalese prisoners broke through the main door leading into the lobby and overpowered jail guard Jayatissa and went into the cells where the Tamil detainees were held and attacked them.

* When Superintendent de Silva heard the blowing of whistles around 2.15 p.m. on 25.7.83, he ran in the direction of the chapel section from where he heard a big commotion. A large number of prisoners barricaded the entrance and prevented him and other officers from entering the section. He forced his way into the lobby and saw 300 to 400 prisoners were banging on cell doors and thereafter he heard screams. The guards were trying to push away the prisoners but failed. He heard the thudding sound of objects on bodies and screams. He called for assistance from army guards but none of them could contain the prisoners. After a few minutes he saw the prisoners moving back upstairs. All the inmates of B3 and C3 wing had been battered to death.

* Mr. C.T. Jansz, Acting Commissioner of Prisons, went to the scene around 2p.m. He saw 300 to 400 prisoners with weapons. He, along with other officers including army personnel, was unsuccessful in controlling the crowd of prisoners. He contacted the Borella police who could not give the assistance he wanted. When the police arrived they were reluctant to enter from the main entrance as it was guarded by the Army.

Evidence, almost identical, was given by various witnesses at the inquest held in respect of the killings on 27th July. The Chief Jailer, Mr. M. Karunaratna said in evidence that he had advance information that the Tamil detainees were going to be attacked again. The main question is: Why was there no additional security provided in the light of this information?

The most unbelievable part of the whole evidence is that none of the officers was able to identify even one of the 400 prisoners who participated in these two murderous attacks. Almost all of them have testified that they tried to prevent the attack but they were overpowered. During these two episodes which must have lasted quite some time (to break open bar doors of several cells and club to death 35 prisoners, it must have taken at least half an hour) how is it that they could not identify a single attacker? They including the Superintendent of Prisons, say that 300 to 400 stood at the entrance to the lobby and prevented them from going in! If that was so, why didn't the officers use force that would have been necessary to disperse the crowd and gain entry? Had they used just minimum force, some of the "rioting" prisoners would have been injured and by their injuries at least some participants would have been identified.

How is it that the army which came on the scene did not use their weapons to disperse the crowd and prevent the continuation of the killings which were repeated on the 27th?

The fact that all the detainees killed were Tamils and held under the Prevention of Terorism Act and the fact that not a single person among the killers has been identified lends support to the widely held belief that the slaughter was carried out with the full participation of and/or connivance of the prison staff and other security forces.

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unprecedented division of the country - effectively into Tamil and Sinhalese area.

This, together with the government's ominous announcement that it will take over all damaged property in the South, suggests that the repression is likely to continue and, possibly, intensify.

The crisis has already meant the rise to prominence of officials and ministers close to the right wing of the UNP. A particularly interesting appointment is that of Douglas Liyanage, secretary to the Minister of State. Liyanage was involved in a right-wing, allegedly CIA-backed army coup against Mrs Bandaranaike's government in 1961.

As the Netherlands group put it, Jayawardene, 'the miracle man who combined democracy with development and economic growth in a world of recession, has ow jettisoned democracy and openly set on the road taken by Marcos and Lee Kwan Yew. What the last few weeks have shown is that he is not in sole control down this road. □

*By kind courtesy of "New Statesman"- 26.8.83.*

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# JUNE DIARY OF ATROCITIES IN TRINCOMALEE

The Sri Lankan Government's propaganda machinery would like the world to believe that the atrocities recently committed against the Tamil speaking people is the result of the killing of 13 army personnel allegedly by unidentified Tamil youths on 22nd July, 1983.

The following diary (extracted from an affidavit sworn by a person presently in detention under the Prevention of Terrorism Act) of atrocities committed in and around Trincomalee in the month of June, long before the killing of 13 army men,demonstrates clearly the sustained and continuous campaign of harassment, torture, arson and murder. What happened in June, 1983 pales into insignificance compared with the horrors of July, 1983.

**3rd June - Trincomalee Town**
Attempt to throw petrol bomb at Yal Cafe.**4th June - Trincomalee Town**
a) Mansion Hotel attacked and set alight.
b) Van belonging to Mansion Hotel set on fire.
c) All the furniture in the hotel damaged.
The local police failed and neglected to genuinely investigate these offences. A special team of officers from Colombo then, came and recorded statements and a 'B' Report was submitted to the Magistrate who issued warrants for the arrests of the suspects. The local police have up-to-date deliberately failed and neglected to apprehend three of the suspects who are freely moving around in the town.

**5th June - Villangkulam**
8 houses belonging to Tamils burnt.
**5th JUne - Pankulam**
Murder of N.Sriskandarasa
**5th June - China Bay**
Pillaiyar Temple set on fire.
**7th June - Mullippaththanai**
Murder of S.Rajathurai.
**8th June - Trincomalee Town**
Chariot belonging to Sivan Temple burnt
**9th June - Uppuveli**
Sub-Postmaster shot at - escaped.
**9th June - Huskisson Road**
Samson's house bombed.
**10th June - Trincomalee Town**
Two bombs thrown at Mr. R. Sambanthan, M.P.'s house.
**11th June - Dockyard**
Bomb thrown at Gandhi Hotel.
**13th June - Central Road**
Bombs thrown at four shops belonging to Tamils and four injured, and shops damaged.

**13th June - Main Street**
Bomb thrown at furniture shop.
**13th June - China Bay**
Prima Factory employees attacked, five injured.
**13th June - Pankulam**
Gunapala's house set on fire.
**14th June - Panmathavachchi**
4 Wayside Hindu shrines damaged.
**15th June - Trincomalee Town**
A house belonging to a Tamil clerk attached to Railway Department situated opposite the Trincomalee Railway Station burnt.
**15th June - Uppuveli**
A Tamil C.T.B. employee's house, in front of Uppuveli Police Quarters, burnt.
**17th June - Kinniya**
Two murders: 1) Saunthararasa 2) (Name not Known).
**18th June - Anpuvalipuram**
Three houses belonging to Tamils burnt.
**20th June - Sivayoqapuram**
Three houses belonging to Tamils Burnt
**21st June - Thoduvapillaiyar**
Six houses belonging to Tamils burnt.
**21st June - Koviladdy**
Six houses belonging to Tamils burnt.
**22nd June - Singanagar**
Three houses belonging to Tamils burnt.
**24th June - Trincomalee Town**
Bomb thrown into the houses of Mendis and Wilson.
**24th June - Sivayogapuram**
Two houses belonging to Tamils burnt.
**25th June - Sivayogapuram**
30 houses belonging to Tamils burnt.
**26th June - Tricomalee Town**
Bomb thrown at Nescafe Hotel.
**27th June - Kithul Ootrue**
a) Minibus called "Island" and belonging to a Tamil attacked; several sustained gun shot injuries; bus burnt, 17 passengers (all Tamils) admitted to hospital.
**27th June - Uppuveli**
b) Alvarpillai and Ramanan cut to death. Alvarpillai's wife and three other children admitted to hospital with cut injuries.
**27th June - Anuradhapura Junction**
c) 10 shops belonging to Tamils and two belonging to Sinhalese burnt.
**27th June - Kithul Ootrue**
d) Thirunavukarasu, Seetha and Usha cut and burnt to death.
**27th June - Kithul Ootrue**
e) Two Hindu Temples set on fire.
**27th June - Central Road**
f) Bomb thrown at Rajamani Stores.
**28th June - Thirukkadaloor**
Navy took into custody Sabaratnam, Kalirasa and Amirthalingam (Indian tourists) at the temple and handed them over to a group of armed criminals who brutally chopped the three of them and left them bleeding on the road. Sabaratnam died on the spot and the other two were removed to hospital some time later.
**28th June - Uppuveli**
Golden Sands Beach Hotel and Restaurant set on fire.
**28th June - Panmathavachchi**
Hindu Temple set on fire.
**29th June- Pankulam 7th Channel**
Three murders- Rajagopal, Thavamani and one other.
**29th June - Palaioottru**
30 houses belonging to Tamils burnt.
**29th June - Pankulam Track No.4**
Nine houses belonging to Tamils burnt.
**30th June -(Not known)**
a) Santhirarasa and Selvarasa cut to death.
**30th June - Nachchikulam**
b) 30 houses belonging to Tamils burnt.
**30th June - Navattikuda at China Bay close to Air Force Quarters.**
c) 32 houses belonging to Tamils burnt.
d) Catholic Ashram set on fire.
**30th June - Vilveri**
e) 30 houses belonging to Tamils burnt.
**30th June - Paraiyankulam**
f) Four murders: Vadivel, Chinniah, Poopayee and Valliammah.
g) Four sustained injuries, admitted to hospital: Ratnarasa 80 years, Muthuluxmy 30 years, Selvasamy 20 years, Muthukumaru 7 years. h) 27 houses destroyed.
**30th June - Central Road**
i) Kalai Magal shop burnt.
**30th June - Dock Yard**
j) Navy Officer Sivanathan who participated in the arrest of some criminals attacked by Sinhalese Naval personnel.
k) Navy personnel Sebastian's house attacked and badly damaged.

In all, 19 Tamil persons including women and children have been killed and more that100 Tamil persons injured and many of them warded in hospital. 214 houses belonging to the Tamil people have been burnt and the families who lived in the said houses rendered homeless. 21 shops belonging to Tamil people, 8 Hindu Temples, 1 Temple Chariot and 1 Catholic Ashram have also been burnt or damaged.

## WEST LONDON TAMIL SCHOOL.

The West London Tamil School will reopen on September 10,1983 at 9.30 a.m. at Stanhope Middle School, Mansell Road, Greenford, Middlesex.

Instruction in Tamil is provided for all age groups.

Classes will continue to be held in Vocal Music, Veena, Violin and Bharata Natyam.

For further information, please contact the Headmaster on 01-904 3937.

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# REIGN OF TERROR AND MURDER IN JAFFNA

During the reign of terror and murder unleashed in Jaffna by the Lankan army on the night of July 23 and the whole of July 24, over a hundred people, including women and children, are known to have been killed. People were killed in thier homes, in buses, along the streets and in short, at random.

An army detatchment stationed at Mathagal in the Jaffna District had hijacked a private mini-bus on the morning of the 24th and gone on a rampage spraying bullets from their machine guns on people walking along the street, travelling in buses, in the shops and markets. The following are some of the several incidents of atrocities committed by the army:

* At 6.30 a.m. Thillaiambalam Kandaswamy, a Security Guard of the KKS Cement Factory, was run over and killed by an army vehicle.
* Yogarajah Sandirasegaram (34) shot and killed at Kankesanturai.
* Thurai Rajendiram (24), a trader by profession, was killed at Pandaterruppu along with an elderly man.
* Anthonypillai Wimalathasan (29) Journalist, Thambu Kothandavani (40) Carpenter,

M. Sinnathamby (24) Accounts Clerk and another unidentified person of about 30 years who were travelling in a minibus from Sandilipay towards Jaffna were shot dead.

* Manipay - 7.30 a.m., CTB bus (route No.782) was stopped at the Market, passengers lined up on the public highway and male passengers shot at point blank range with machine guns. Straying bullets also killed five school boys instantly. A typist at the Peoples Bank and a CTB conductor were also killed. Among those killed were-

A. Mailvaganam (44) Typist, Peoples Bank,

A. Seevaratnam (47) CTB Bus Conductor, Rajakanthan (19) Student, Manipay Hindu College, Sunderavathanan (18) Student, Manipay Hindu College, V. Kumarasiri (19) Student, Manipay Hindu College, M. Nadeswaran (19) Student, Manipay Hindu College, Jayendran (16) Student, Jaffna Hindu College

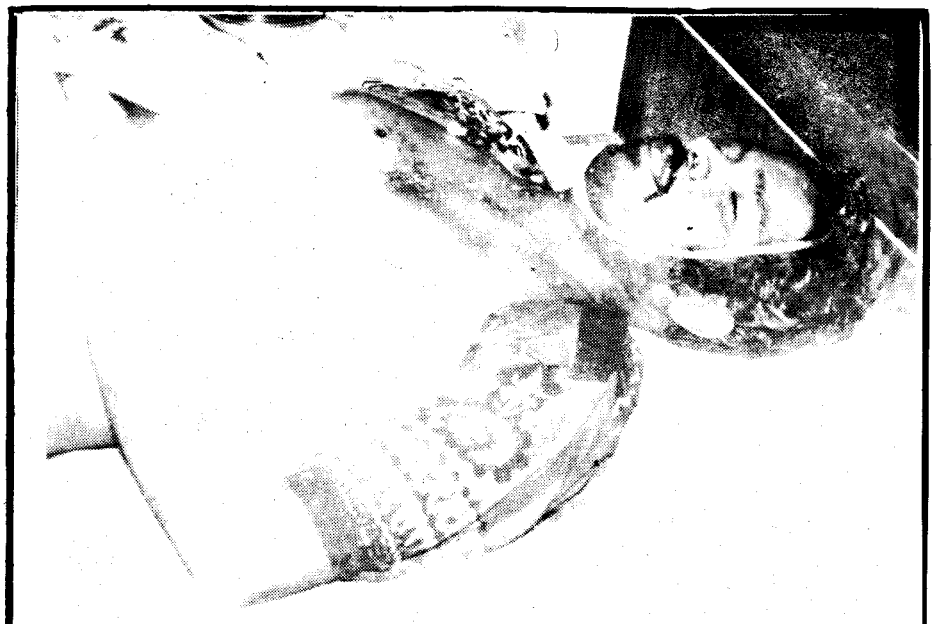
* Another seriously injured person had his arm amputated and is warded at the Tellipalai Government Hospital.

Anthonipillai Vimalathasan (29) Thampoe Kothandapani (40) M. Sinnathamby (24), 3 of the 4 shot by the army at Sandilipay on 24 July

* The Soldiers returned to their camp at Mathagal via Chankanai firing bursts of machine gun fire at people on the streets all along the way.

* Between 6 a.m. and 4 p.m. these same soldiers shot dead 11 people at Kantharmadam. Some of them were :-
Sinnathamby Saravanamuttu (82) retired teacher, Kala Parameswaran (59) Family Planning Officer, Sivananthan (30) Manager, Rathi Watch Works, Sivam (13), Pararajasingham, Land Development Officer, Thamby Thuraiswamy (50) Lorry Owner/Driver, S. Sathiyadevan (17) Salesman

* The following were shot dead in their homes: Sivalingam (37) Engineer, Krishnaanandan (32) Shopkeeper, Ramaswamy Nagarajah (23), Thavendran (19).
* 24th July - 2p.m. A person seriously injured the previous day complained to the Police and this resulted in the army attacking several houses in the complainant's village, Valithundal near Keerimalai. One person was killed, David Amirthanandam (about 70).
* Several houses in the village were looted by the soldiers. Five persons were abducted and severely assaulted and dumped on the wayside by the army camp.



N.Sivalingam (37) shot by the army in Jaffna on July 24

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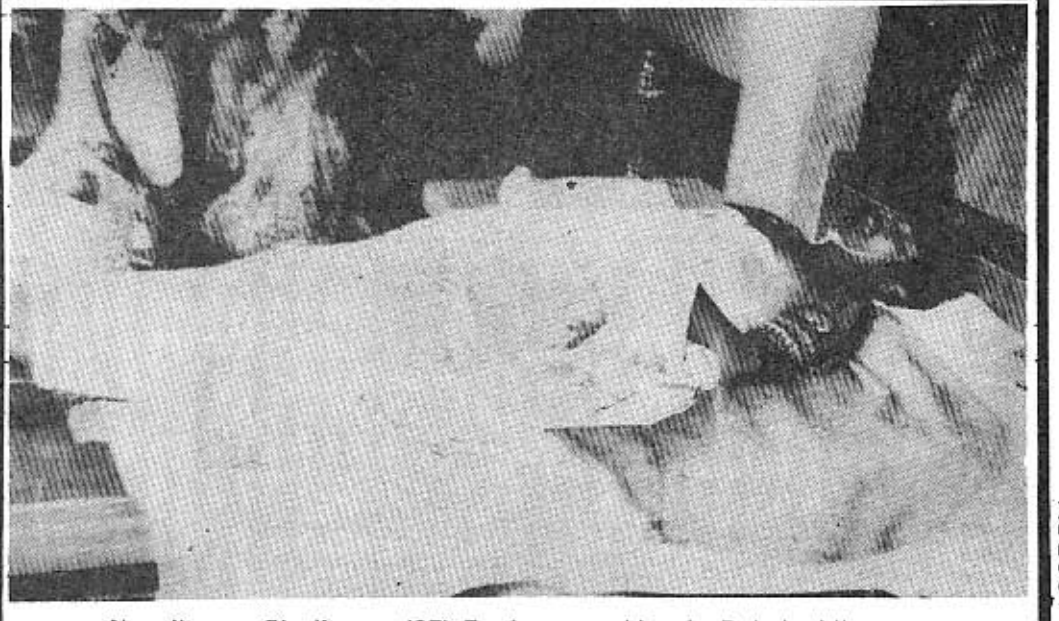
# LANKAN ARMY ON MURDER SPREE, JULY 24, 1983

Another person shot by the army on 24.7.83 at Sandilipay seen riddled with

Thaventhiran (19) shot on July 24 by the army at Thirunelveli, Jaffna

A. Seevaratnam (47) shot by the army at Manipay on July 24.



Nagalingam Sivalingam (37) Engineer working in Dubai while on holiday in Jaffna - one of 11 killed in Thirunelveli on July 24.

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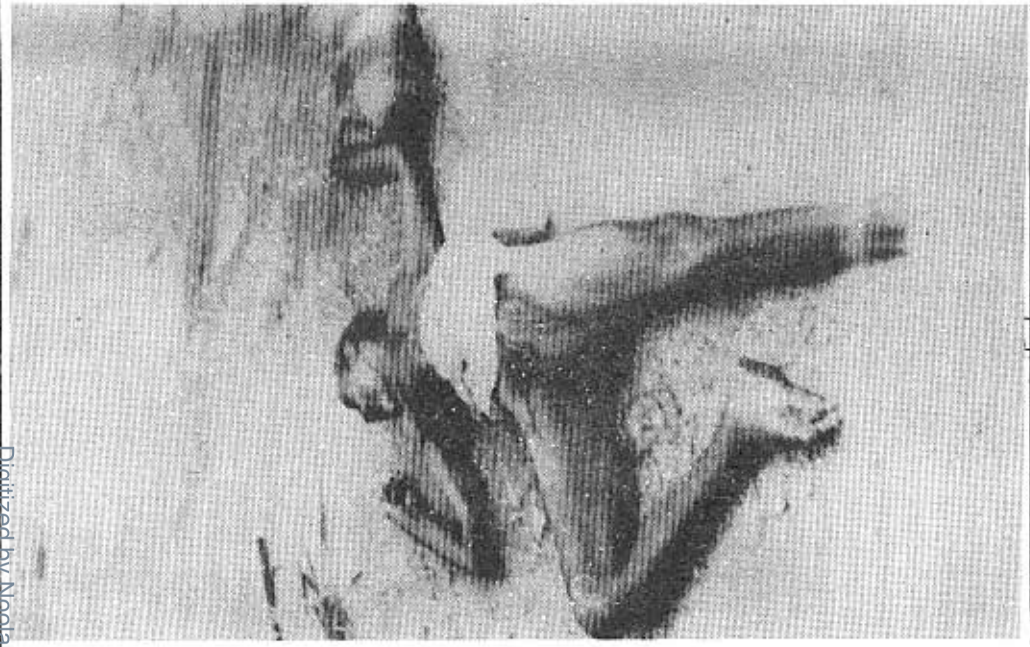
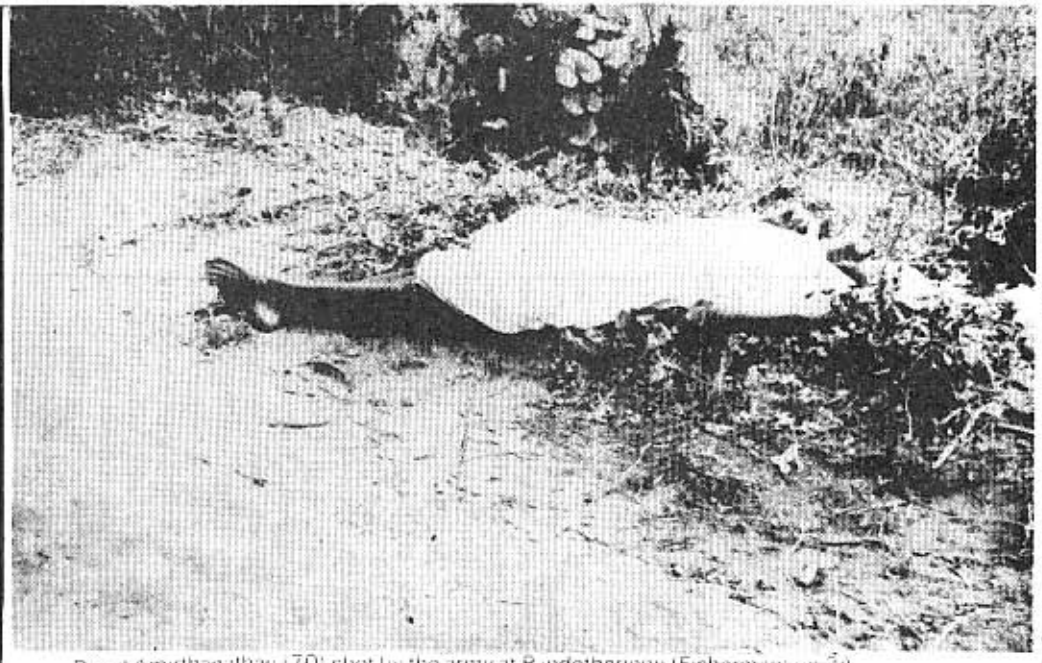


Thamy Thuraiswamy (50), Lorry Driver

Thambu Kothandavani (40), Carpenter and Sinnathamby (24), Accounts Clerk.

Rajakanthan and Suntharavathanan, both students shot by army on 24th July at Manipay.



David Amirthanathan (70) shot by the army at Pandetheruppu (Fishermans) on 24



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## SRI LANKA'S NATIONAL QUESTION

# A SMOKING RUIN?

The first year of the reign of Junius Richard Jayawardene was inaugurated with an orgy of arson, looting and murder directed against the Tamil people, and its sixth year is marked by similar scenes of carnage. The smoke from a hundred burning bazaars billows into the sky, and the goon squads of the UNP, lumpen Sinhala hoodlums, and the government's storm troopers, in and out of uniform, are at their gory and incendiary pastime. Bellicose utterances unleashed the hounds of war in August 1977, and the recent declaration of Jaffna as a "battlefield" and ringing commands to exterminate the militant Tamil guerillas have merely escalated the bloody conflict. No government has the right to squeal when its forces are outwitted in a legitimate theatre of war by the openly designated enemy. To wreak summary vengeance, thereafter, against innocent and defenceless Tamils in the South through a calculated carnivalia of pillage and destruction is the hallmark of a cowardly and irresponsible bully. What price the resounding expressions of the rule of law, the preservation of order, Dharmishta, and an all-powerful Presidency! Tamil blood spatters the pavements and half-scorched bodies litter the roads Jayawardene has involved the atavistic impulses of the Sinhala terrorist rabble once again in his mad career. The killings are unlikely to stop - how many more sacrifices are required before the Sinhala Moloch is appeased? Will the ultimate horror in the Welikade Prison which has given the Tamil people fifty three new heroes to mourn provide the shock of revelation to a besotted regime?

It is a salutary task to retrace our steps.

### BROKEN PROMISES

In the long catalogue of promises made by the UNP to a wilting and skeletonised populace six years ago, broken since then with an unfeeling and unfailing regularity, there appeared in its manifesto the following brave and decisive proclamation regarding the 'Tamil Problem'. "In the interests of national integration and unity so necessary for the economic development of the whole country the Party feels such problems should be solved without loss of time. The Party, when it comes to power, will take all possible steps to remedy their grievances in such fields as (1) Education; (2) Colonisation; (3) Use of Tamil Language; (4) Employment in the public and semi-public corporations. We will summon an All-Party Conference and implement its decision".

Why did the Party, elected to power with so abundant and impressive a majority, so consistently and almost studiously neglect to pursue its own formula, when events after July 1977 must surely have brought home to it that other tactics and strategies had failed, and failed profoundly, to stem the tide of Tamil discontent and open resentment? In the long and tortured history of the "National Question" in Sri Lanka the device of a round table has been accepted as a logical instrument of peaceful settlement of a burning issue-a running sore in the side of every Government since Independence.

But over the years no effort has been made by successive administrations to bring all concerned groups around a table to prevent the inevitable drift to national disintegration and communal confrontation. The U.N.P. ran up the pledge on its masthead in 1977 and many political groups and religious and social organisations have frequently reminded the Government of the promise in its Manifesto, reiterating the need to honour the undertaking in the face of the tragic impasse, compounded by repressive legislation, military occupations and continuing Emergencies. These techniques of sabre-rattling and intimidation have lost any capacity they may have once possessed to mitigate or assist the resolution of what is essentially a political question. On the contrary, Tamil resistance has stiffened and the militant youth of the North have steeled themselves to defend Tamil honour, safeguard regional aspirations, and symbolize the yearning for self-determination. They now provide, in the view of the Tamil community, the armed shield for a defenceless population. The generation gap has been bridged and empathy has eclipsed fear. The cycle of solidarity is complete.

### MONOLITHIC MAJORITY

It is instructive, at this point, to review the major instruments of policy (in clear violation of its electoral promise) which the Government has employed to secure a solution of the Tamil issue. Fortified by a new Constitution, a near-monolithic Parlimentary majority, an omnipotent President, and an inviolable political supremacy stretching now to 1989, the North and East have been turned into theatres of war, while the infamous Prevention of Terrorism Act (plus or minus sudden Emergencies) and an on-off bilateral dialogue with the TULF (assisted by power brokers on either side) have reflected "gun boat diplomacy" and "showing the flag" in turn. In between to soften Tamil obduracy and to indicate the Sinhala iron was not altogether toothless, rehearsed and unrehearsed acts of violence and arson were employed in the North and South. It is patently clear that these tactics (whether carrot or stick, alternately or in tandem) have failed to produce a solution. In fact they have contributed to an increasing of militancy and racial consciousness, and a saddening resort to violence, intimidation and terror on an increasing scale.

A great deal of light on the reluctance of the Government to utilize the best available national consensus has now been shed by the leading *deus ex machina* - Prof. A.J. Wilson- in two recent articles: (1) "Racial strife in Sri Lanka : the role of an intermediary"Conflict Quarterly Spring -Summer 1982; (2) "Sri Lanka and its future: Sinhalese versus Tamils". The States of South Asia Problems of National Integration; Edited by A.J.Wilson and D.Dalton (London, 1982). The self-confessed confidante and advisor of Sri Lanka's Establishment Mafia lays bare with a clinical candour the descent into the pit of communal disharmony, and indicates, with a no less disarming veracity, his special role as an intermediary since the middle of 1979. An unprecedented and sweeping embargo on quotation prevents reference to the first article, but, embedded in the second, is this revelatory admission. "It was at this point that an intermediary in the person of the present author offered his good offices to the Executive President of the Republic with a view to bringing the TULF and Government spokemen together to the negotiating table. President Jayewardene accepted the arguments that this intermediary offered against the convening of a roundtable conference". (p.309). The substitute device of a non-descript Commission produced the District Development Councils Scheme - in essence the principal formula of its dissenting protagonist, Wilson himself. The backstage intrigue on display is reminiscent of a Byzantime Court. Concocted in such a climate, lacking a proper national recommendation, the D.D.C. system has proved a damp squib from the start, neither alleviating Tamil fears nor redressing any grievances. Both in theory and practice this exercise in the supposed devolution of power has signally failed to accommodate any genuine measures of regional auonomy, or satisfy the aspirations of a clearly expressed national identity. Subsequent events have merely confirmed the inadequacy of bilateral talks in an environment of continuing repression, and the futility of manipulated

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concessions obtained through elitist barter arrangements behind the backs of the people.

**FROM RESISTANCE TO LIBERATION.**

Battered beyond endurance the Tamil people have turned sporadic resistance into a national liberation struggle. The near-total boycott of the May 18th local government polls in Jaffna has provided, perhaps, the spectacular *coup-de-grace* to the basic design of the Wilsonian strategy, and laid to rest the ineffectual logistics of the incompatible union between an emasculated TULF and an unwilling UNP which has tried and failed miserably to embody the Sinhalese consensus, despite repeated electoral intimidation. The national solidarity and distinctive ardour of the Tamil people deserve better than the artful temporizings and piecemeal fumblings of their elite representatives. The cruise missile from New Brunswick may well have flown its last mission. The self-indulgence of some individuals must give way, sooner or later, to the right of a whole people to participate in the responsibility of conducting their affairs. Frustration and disillusion in both Sinhala and Tamil camps must give way to a clear and realistic socio-political programme to re-establish national unity and bring about a lasting solution to the Tamil question. Any such agreement should embody the strictest constitutional safeguards for the appropriate expression of Tamil self-determination, within or without a unitary state, and a self-respecting regional autonomy based on genuine procedures of a democratic devolution of power from the centre. All recognized political parties should participate in discussions leading to the best terms for a negotiated settlement, and the ensuring agreement would need to be guaranteed by their support.

A roundtable in any other context would fail to get off the ground. The recent fiasco of a desperately called round-table on grounds untenable to the entire Opposition has demonstrated in unmistakeable terms the significance of the real issues at stake.

**TULF SEES LIGHT**

The TULF has apparently (at its Mannar Convention on 23rd and 24th July) seen the light at the end of a squalid tunnel of discrimination, oppression, intimidation, double-dealing and terror, and learned to shrug off the yoke of self-important and self-appointed intermediaries. Its new plan offers a new hope for the future of their people, and no settlement can fail to ignore these basic demands. They are worthy of restatement because they represent the aspirations of a people, united through suffering and struggle.

(1) Recognition of self-determination of the Tamil people, (2) Regional autonomy, (3) Repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, (4) Withdrawal of the armed forces from Tamil areas, (5) An amnesty scheme for those detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The President, his Ministers and his MPs would do well to re-think their stand without delay before random holocausts are transformed into a permanent apocalypse.

**26th July 1983.**

**POSTSCRIPT**

The Sixth Amendment conceived in haste and passed in panic in a pan-Sinhala Parliament, in the throes of the communal orgasm on 5th August 1983 has put the very basis of a peaceful or negotiated settlement of the 'Tamil Question' in the utmost peril. This frenzied piece of legislation destroys the ground for any dispassionate or objective evaluation of the issues involved, and will have the effect of outlawing not only Tamil opinion and the freedom of expressing those views in a democratic manner, but, more ominously even liberal, rational and independent Sinhalese thinking on the 'national question' has been rendered taboo. The Sixth Amendment is intended to unite the thinking of the majority community in narrow nationalist channels, as well as to enshrine Sinhala Buddist interests in the Constitution. The movement began in 1956 has now reached the inflamed apogee of its fanatic course, and the future of Sri Lanka looks likely to be dictated by the pressures of militant Sinhala Buddhist precept and practice. Confined to the wings for nearly three decades, the Sinhala Buddhist campaign has now forced its way to the centre of the stage and captured the very citadels of State power. What chance, if any, is there left for the Tamil people to sit dowh at round-tables to discuss their aims and aspirations or argue their case for self-determination, regional autonomy, human rights, or a recognition of their national identity in a conciliatory and accommodating atmosphere? The door to dialogue is still open, say Government spokesmen, but at what price and to what ends? Though the voice of the Tamil People has been muffled, the phoenix of Tamil resistance and faith in their destiny must surely rise from the smouldering ashes of bitterness, despair and an overwhelming loss of confidence in any remaining vestiges of Sinhalese magnamimity. What remains, always, is the strength of an idea whose time has come.

*RICHARD LEE*

**6th AUGUST 1983**

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On April 6, 1983, Rajasundaram was arrested and taken to the Gurunagar Army Camp in Jaffna, after the Sri Lankan Police raided the Gandhiyam office in Vavuniya. Not even his family knew of his whereabouts until the following day. He was confined to a small cell and tortured so as to break his iron will. His lawyers and his wife were allowed to see him just once. On April 23 his Attorney-at-Law Mr. Kumaralingam sent a telegram to the Sri Lankan President reporting Rajasundaram's weak state of health as a result of the torture, but nothing was done. He was then transferred to Panagoda Army Camp where he underwent further torture.

Confessions were then extracted from him under threat of "more serious treatment". Later he was brought to Colombo Welikade Jail.

Rajasundaram and eight others were moved out of their cells immediately after the July 25 killings in Welikade Jail and kept in a padlocked hall upstairs in the same block. In spite of their repeated representations to the prison hierarchy for better security they were given nothing but bland assurances. On July 27 at 2.30 p.m. these nine heard shouts outside their hall and later saw crowds coming towards them with axes, crowbars and sticks. Rajasundaram was unfortunate enough to open the door and was hit on his neck with an iron bar. This cowardly act of attacking a man who was unarmed and weakened by months of brutal torture ended the life of one of the noblest of Tamil sons.

He leaves behind his wife - Shanthi - and three children, Raji (12), Ramanan (9) and Arthavan (8). Dr. Shanthi now runs the Vavuniya Clinic and carries on the work Rajasundaram devoted his life to. They may have mutilated his body, strangled his neck, denied him sleep for many a day and finally killed him as an enemy, but his spirit lives on and will lead future generations of Tamils to mould their lives on his example, till they reach their goal - Eelam.

The quotation in the article of "Vanninesan" in the Tamil Times of May 1983 aptly describes the spirit of our revered friend, Dr. Rajasundaram.

"My soul that knows no weariness will go on:
Till my country gains its own promised land;
And though they crack my skull and even kill me,
On my skull, engraved in raw blood, they will read
'This is a Tamil who would never surrender
To the brutish enemies of freedom' ".

Arul Emmanuel

## *THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS URGES "FINANCIAL BOYCOTT" OF SRI LANKA*

The Massachusetts House of Representatives unanimously adopted a Resolution filed Representative Marie E. Howe (D-Somerville) and the Eelam Tamil Association of America, headquartered in Somerville, Massachusetts, urging the divestment and withdrawal of public funds and pension revenues from businesses that are owned by organizations based in Sri Lanka.

In filing this Resolution on behalf of the Eelam Tamil's, Representative Howe stated, "it is urgent that the citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts are made aware of the gross violation of human rights by the Government of Sri Lanka, formerly known as Ceylon, against the Tamil population. Government sponsored terrorism against the minority people of this Island just south of India will not be tolerated and hopefully the citizens of Massachusetts will boycott all products and companies with interest based in Sri Lanka. The following is the text of the resolution adopted:

Whereas, The Tamils of Eelam, who number three million Hindus, Christians and Moslems and occupy eight thousand square miles, live as an opresed minority in Sri Lanka, where the majority is composed of ten million Sinhalese, most of whom are Buddhists; and whereas, from ancient times two nations, the Sinhalese and Tamils possessed distinct languages, religions, cultures and clearly demarcated geographic territories until the British, who were characteristically oblivious to the difference between these two separate nations, imposed one rule for the purpose of colonial administrative unification;

and whereas, since 1948, when the British departed the Island and two unwilling nations were consequently left under a unitary government structure, the majority Sinhalese faction has subverted democratic principles to become the new masters of the Tamil-speaking people; And whereas, further evidencing the discriminatory and intimidating policies of the majority, security forces recently went on a rampage in the northern provincial capital of Jaffna, Burning shops and more than one hundred and fifty houses, almost all of which were owned by Tamils, who make up approximately twenty per cent of the population of the Island once called Ceylon, thereby leaving more than five hundred people homeless; And whereas, at least one civilian was killed by crossfire in overnight fighting between naval troops and unidentified people, and at Paranthan, on the rail line between Jaffna and Colombo, policemen attacked a crowd of train passengers headed North for the Tamil-speaking area, injuring an undetermined number of civilians;

And whereas, according to the International Commission of Jurists, many of the provisions of the Sri Lankan Prevention of Terrorism Act and Public Security Act are contrary to accepted principles of the rule of law, internationally accepted minimum standards of criminal procedure, and also to be contrary to the provisions of the Sri Lankan constitution; and whereas, the Massachusetts House of Representatives does not wish the Commonwealth to contribute to the revenues of Sri Lanka because of its violations of the human rights of the Tamils; And whereas, the Massachusetts House of Representatives does not wish the Commonwealth to invest in Sinhalese interests or in those of any other party that practises discrimination against the Tamil inhabitants of Eelam; and whereas, consistent with its condemnation of moral wrongs done in the name of the Sinhalese people by their government, the Massachusetts House of Representatives hereby endorses a policy of financial boycott by the Commonwealth, thereby dissociating itself from the abiding evil of Sinhalese oppression in Sri Lanka; Therefore be it resolved, that the Massachusetts House of Representatives urges the immediate divestment and withdrawal of all Public funds or pension revenues from any business organizations that are owned by interests based in Sri Lanka, and urges all officers of the Commonwealth to exercise their best offices to accomplish the said objective with the greatest sense of urgency; and be it further resolved, that copies of these resolutions be forwarded by the Clerk of the House of Representatives to the President of the United States, Secretary of State, U.N. Ambassador, Presiding Officer of each branch of congress and the members thereof from this Commonwealth, President Jayawardene of Sri Lanka, Prime Minister R. Premadasa and the Presiding Officers of the Parliament of Sri Lanka.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ADOPTED, JUNE 9, 1983."

**Sri Thillaiampalam, Hon. Thomas P.O'Neil, Speaker of US Congress and T.Sritharan (left to right)**

## WEST LONDON TAMIL SCHOOL ANNUAL PRIZE GIVING

The large hall of Greenford High School was packed to capacity for the annual prizegiving of the West London Tamil School on July 16. The large audience included prominent members of the Tamil community, Mr. Harry Greenway, Member of Parliament for Ealing, Mr. Doug Barratt of the Unified Community Action Group and representatives from Ealing Borough Council.

Dr. Rhodes Boyson, former education minister, the guest of honour, presented a magnificent range of silver cups, shields and other prizes, donated by parents and wellwishers, including the Brindavanam Music Society, Brent Tamil Association, the General Union of Eelam Students, London Tamil Sangam and the League of Friends of Jaffna University,.

The opening ceremony of the lighting of the lamp was performed by Mrs Rhodes Boyson.

The Headmaster, Dr. Niththyananthan, gave a moving address.

Speaking of the conflicting influences of home and school to which a child growing up in an alien culture is exposed, he emphasised the importance of cultivating a sense of personal identity in such a situation. In introducing the child to the language of his forbears, the school opened to him the gateway to a literature going back to the year 2000 BC, enriching his life and all those with whom he came into contact.

Dr. Niththyananthan concluded his speech with the well known Tamil quotation. "Education is the greatest gift any parent can bestow on his children." In reply, Dr. Boyson spoke of his admiration for the high standards of the Tamil community in Britain and their dedication to the importance of family life. The school was an achievement of which the entire community could be proud, he declared.

The speeches were succeeded by captivating performances by the pupils who, dressed in the traditional costume of the homeland, delighted their audience with Tamil songs, sketches and dances in which they displayed an astonishing virtuosity. This moving occasion reflected the rapid progress of the school from its small beginnings in a meeting of parents in 1978. It was a vindication of the vision of its founder, Mr. C.J.T. Thamotheram, and a just recompense for the dedicated labours of the staff and the financial sacrifices of the parents. It was a personal triumph for the headmaster, Dr. R. Niththyananthan, who put in so much time and effort into its organisation. It was altogether an occasion of which teachers, children and parents can be justly proud and which will be remembered for many years to come.

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# MARTYRED RAJASUNDARAM "THE MOVING SPIRIT OF GANDHIYAM"

It is given to few to work selflessly for a cause in which they wholeheartedly believe and in that process make the supreme sacrifice of their own lives. The poignancy of such an invaluable "offering" is thrown into high relief when it is extracted by a cowardly and dastardly attack executed with all the brutality which human nature could descend to achieve.

Such is the sacrifice which Rajasundaram was destined, if not privileged, to pay for his self-effacing and compassionate service to his less advantaged countrymen. That this assassination should have been committed by those professing the Buddha-dhamma should undoubtedly make the great Teacher of Compassion turn in his grave disgusted at the crimes committed in his venerated name.

This "Uththama puththiran" was born on March 23rd, 1943, the third son of Mr. & Mrs. Somasunderam, who were both teachers. The early parental grounding and upbringing prepared him for his future role, initially as a social worker among the poor and the underprivileged masses in the tea and rubber plantations, and later as General Secretary of Gandhiyam, Sri Lanka.

Even as a student at Kokuvil Hindu College, he worked as Secretary of the Young Farmers Club. Later he attended Jaffna Hindu College where he was Troop leader of the Scouts. He wasn't one who paid lip service to religion, but he combined his deep religious convictions with whole-hearted dedication, and worked tirelessly for the cause of the stateless plantation workers. He lived a simple and austere life and was a vegetarian. He took a lively interest in Tamil cultural affairs.

Rajasundaram entered Colombo Medical College in 1963, and on completing his studies started his medical career in the small estate hospitals at Lunugala and later at Pussellawa. In these places he had the special task of looking after the physical welfare of the plantation workers. He was a Council member of the Indian Workers Congress during this period. He became acquainted with the struggles, dreams and unrealised hopes of the estate workers and this motivated him to dedicate his energies towards alleviating their sordid plight and the parlous conditions under which they laboured. Since then, the welfare of the estate worker became the dominating concern in his life. His later position as General Secretary of Gandhiyam afforded him the opportunity to translate his missionary zeal into reality by labouring for those displaced by mass hatred and brutality - the victims of the 1977 racial riots.

In 1970 he married Dr. Shanthi Karalasingham, and worked for a short period in the Kandy Lakeside Medical Centre. But his urge to work with the underprivileged drove him to establish the Vavuniya Clinic in December 1973. With Dr. R. Sri Pathmanathan, he helped Granada T.V. produce a half-hour programme entitled "The Price of a Cup of Tea", showing the privations, the poor living and working conditions, the exploitation and the starvation wages received by the estate workers in Sri Lanka.

Gandhiyam, the brainchild of Mr. S.A. David and Dr. Rajasundaram, was formed solely for the threefold purpose of eradicating poverty, ignorance and disease among the underpriviledged Tamils in Sri Lanka. The early success it enjoyed is a tribute to the tireless efforts of Rajasundaram, who worked all hours of the day. He was available round the clock, when anyone needed his services. Mr. David referred to him as "the moving spirit of Gandhiyam".

Gandhiyam was the only group that was functioning successfully when the 1977 racial massacre uprooted and displaced thousands of Tamils. It offered relief and helped to resettle and rehabilitate over 40,000 people- a task so monumental, that in ordinary circumstances it could have been undertaken as a State venture. Rajasundaram and his wife kept "open house" for those who came maimed, destitute and bereft of all they possessed, both in 1977 and later in 1979 and 1981. They were the crucial unifying link between the Tamils in Jaffna, the Wanni and the plantation areas.

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# TAMIL RESCUE APPEAL

**A Campaigning Organisation for the Tamils of Sri Lanka living abroad**

- ***To identify and assess the problems facing the Tamils of Sri Lanka and devise ways and means of ameliorating such problems.***
- ***To gather, co-ordinate and disseminate information relating to the Tamils of Sri Lanka and their problems and to counter hostile propaganda.***

A few Tamils who participated in the historic march of over 6000 through the City of London on Saturday, July 30, got together to discuss the current plight of the Tamils of Sri Lanka. The outcome was the formation of the Tamil Rescue Appeal.

As a Campaigning Organisation of the Tamils of Sri Lanka living abroad, the Tamil Rescue Appeal will endeavour to present to the world the true facts about the problems facing the Tamils at home and the struggle they are at present waging to secure justice. They will seek to influence international opinion to take note of the denial of human and civil rights to the Tamils in Sri Lanka. The recent genocidal holocaust in Sri Lanka where possibly over one thousand Tamils were brutally murdered, tens of thousands rendered homeless and several thousand homes and business establishments belonging to Tamils looted and burnt has emphasised the need for a vibrant Campaigning Organisation as one of the means available to the Tamils to protect their identity as a people and to ensure their security and the integrity of their homelands.

During the short period since the Appeal was formed we have set up an Office in Central London, established meaningful contact with the national newspapers, and responded in the Guardian to an advertisement in that paper (issue of August 17) inserted by the Sri Lanka Association of Britain containing false and malicious propaganda.

The Organisation proposes to canvass opinion and support from National and International bodies for the Tamil cause in a sustained manner.

The Tamil Rescue Appeal is resolved to work in close collaboration and liaison with other Tamil organisations in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in the interests of the Tamil cause. We require the full support of Tamils everywhere for our endeavour. Donations are welcome

TAMIL RESCUE APPEAL
P.O.BOX 208
LONDON WCIN 3QN
TEL: 01-405 5978.

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# THE HARD AND TRICKY ROAD AHEAD.

THE MAJOR DEVELOPMENT following the unprecedented state-sponsored terror and campaign of liquidation unleashed against the Tamils in Sri Lanka has been the acceptance - through the force of geopolitical circumstances rather than on a "voluntarist" basis - of India's locus standi and, indeed, special interest in the matter. This active role concerns what needs to be done urgently in relation to the elementary security as well as the social, cultural, economic and political rights of the leading minority people in the island - who, if the "Ceylon" and "Indian" Tamil streams can be taken together,constitute a fifth of the population. Not untrue to form, Mr. J.R. Jayewardene has been blowing cold and hot in his recent dealings with India, and its Government. A week ago, the Sri Lanka President "welcomed" (according to Mrs. Gandhi's statement in Parliament) the good offices of this nation in resolving the political crisis that has the Tamil question as its focus. His latest interview to a group of Indian journalists in Colombo (reported in detail by THE HINDU's Special Correspondent) is indicative of some kind of attempt to explain away (if not wriggle out of) the commitment, by suggesting that talks with the TULF on the Tamil question are a purely internal matter in which Indian "good offices" might not be needed. This combined with the absence of any expression of remorse for the atrocities against the Tamils, does not constitute an ideal climate for the sensitive round of talks that will begin in Colombo with the Prime Minister's special envoy this week. One hopes one will not have to take Mr. Jayewardene literally in such matters, for after all the special role of the people and Government of India in finding a speedy and positive solution to the Sri Lanka crisis has already been conceded in practice. Were that not the case, there would have been no question of the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, flying to Sri Lanka for the initial round of bilateral talks on the situation, or of Indian ships being dispatched to Sri Lanka to bring succour to some of the victims, or of the Sri Lankan special emissary visiting New Delhi for the second round of talks, or of the TULF leader, Mr.A.Amirthalingam, coming to India for political talks virtually without official obstruction, or of Mr. G.Parthasarathy going to Colombo for the third round of talks on which a great deal of expectation has been placed by India as well as the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

There are two or three aspects to be taken care of if the special Indian efforts are to succeed with the Sri Lanka authorities in the coming weeks. The first is the continued assertion of a direct and deep interest in the matter, that cannot and must not be deflected by any obstructions placed along the path by Colombo. The bottom line in the national position is that any further assaults on the safety and security of the three million Tamils and other people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka are unacceptable to the people and Government of India. Related to this is the insistence, through diplomatic and political means, that the aspirations and rights of the Tamil community must be dealt with on the basis of equity and respect through constructive negotiations. It follows that the leaders of the Tamil United Liberation Front cannot be expected to participate in the talks seriously if a gun, in the form of the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, is held to their heads; it means that the negotiating parties should regard the position that obtained before the recent holocaust as the starting point for any discussion, which in turn means there must be at least a suspension of this crisis-related official response to the political slogan of a separate Eelam. Secondly, nothing ought to be done - in the form of inflamed passions, rhetoric or deeds either in Sri Lanka or in India - to make the fundamental task of bringing succour to the victims and of safeguarding their immediate future more difficult and more risky than it already is. The overall situation must be dealt with sans heroics, in a spirit of realism and responsibility as to the achievable or desirable outcome. It is to be earnestly hoped that those like the "Tigers" (who are wedded to individual acts of "excitative terrorism" as a means of carrying out their objectives and tend to function, in practice, as *agents provocateurs* so far as the interests of the Tamils in Sri Lanka are concerned) will give the situation and the unarmed masses a break. If the Indian efforts to bring about a politically negotiated solution of the Tamil question are to take off, no occasion or pretext must be given to those specialising in communal or "racist" politics among the Sinhala people to queer the pitch - if not worse. Thirdly, it does appear that a federal solution within the framework of a united Sri Lanka is the way to go. The issues and problems involved must be approached concretely and on an urgent basis in the talks (whatever the shape of the table). However, for the proposal to be taken seriously by the Tamils, especially the stream represented by the TULF, the Sri Lanka Government must launch a numberi of substantive measures to demonstrate that they are not regarded as second class citizens, a people under suspicion and siege, a political community that has to function under conditions of pogrom, legal ban and risk to life and property in its own land. In her interview given to THE HINDU in Colombo and published in uncensored form last Saturday, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike has (whatever the track record of her Sri Lanka Freedom Party on this front) expressed some positive sentiments on India's special role as well as on the way to resolve the Tamil question that has long eluded settlement in the politics of the island. Will the UNP Government headed by Mr.Jayewardene (despite its role in the atrocities and campaign to "teach the Tamils the lesson of their lives") see the dangers and the opportunities in the situation and act soberly and responsibly?

*By kind courtesy of THE HINDU (Editorial, September 3, 1983*

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# SRI LANKA'S BLOODY SHAME

Sri Lanka's claim to being civilized is drowning in the blood of its Tamil minority that the Sinhalese majority slaughters and burns. New government measures outlawing even peaceful Tamil separatism make more violence likelier.

Sinhalese soldiers, sailors and policemen have joined the arsonists and murderers. Tourists fleeing Sri Lanka number the Tamil victims in the thousands.

The troubles go back to the 19th century when the British imported Tamil workers to Sri Lanka - then the island of Ceylon - from adjacent southern India.

The Tamils are Hindu. the Sinhalese are Buddhists. The Tamils, as minorities often do, put a great effort into education and carved enviable places for themselves in theeconomy and the ranks of the British administration.

When Sri Lanka became independent, after the Second World War, its envious Sinhalese majority, 72 per cent, often turned on thriving Tamils, 20 per cent. On one occasion, the Sinhalese police burned half the Tamil capital city of Jaffna.

Such savagery gave birth to the Tamil United Liberation Front with 18 members in Sri Lanka's 168-seat parliament. They advocate separation by democratic means. But the existence of the TULF only increased Sinhalese violence which finally turned young Tamils to terrorism.

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# "GUARDIANS OF LAW ENCOURAGED LAWLESSNESS" - cwc -

**The Ceylon Workers Congress, of which the President is Mr S.Thondaman, a Minister in the present Government of Sri Lanka, has in a strongly worded statement condemned the "unprecedented savagery" by organised groups which "went on a rampage, unchecked for nearly a week, destroying and looting property, setting houses and establishments on fire, and killing and maiming innocent and defenceless victims while the guardians of the law remained inactive and, in some cases, even encouraged and assisted the lawlessness". It is important to note that as a member of the Jayawardene Cabinet he is taking a position different from that of the Government and indirectly blames the Government for the anti-Tamil violence of July.**

**The statement adds:**

"We are deeply grieved that this wave of violence has been unleashed even before the wounds inflicted by the criminals in August 1981 had healed. The vast majority of the peace loving Tamils, who by hard work and frugality have helped to build the economy of this country, have been rendered destitute overnight.

There is substantial evidence to believe that the events of the last week of July are not a sudden and spontaneous outburst of the Sinhala population against the Tamils. It appears that a concerted attempt has been made by means of a carefully laid out plan over a long period of time to destroy the houses and belongings of persons of Indian origin in the professions and the trade. The objective of the exercise appears to be to deny this community all avenues of progress and condemn them to a permanent state of captive labour. Large number of estate workers have also been affected.

Even before the riots began in Colombo, the attack on the Tamil settlers in the Mannar, Vavuniya and Trincomalee areas had been set in motion. It is significant that communal violence on a large scale commenced with the burning of the huts of settlers in Trincomalee. They were uprooted from their homes in the early hours of the morning of 23rd July bundled and brought against their will to Nuwara Eliya and Hatton and left as destitutes.

The failure to regularise the land holdings of stateless persons and other people of Indian origin in the North, through a dialogue with the Minister of Rural Industrial Development and President of the Ceylon Workers Congress, has been a major contributory factor to this sad state of affairs which we are witnessing today.

Instead, of implementing the declared policy of regularising the settlement of persons of Indian origin in these areas, where they were transported and dumped as refugees after the previous holocausts, a concerted attempt had been made to drive them out of their holdings under various false pretexes. This had been further intensified around the middle of July when the police and the security personnel set in motion a-wave of terror intimidating the settlers and driving them away.

In order to legalise this programme a proposal was presented 'For Prevention of encroachments and Illicit Settlements in Sri Lanka, the Prevention of unlawful Activities of any individual, group of individuals, Associations, Organisation or body of persons within Sri Lanka...' which includes some of the obnoxious provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act like detention without trial for upto 18 months, power to G.A. or A.G.A. without giving consent to authorize Police, Army or Navy to demolish buildings etc. thus branding settlers as terrorists.

In the backdrop of recurring waves of violence, the C.W.C. points out that these acts of savagery, discrimination and displacement have been practised in spite of the unstinted cooperation that the C.W.C. has extended to the Government and the whole-hearted support the people of Indian origin gave during the Presidential election and the referendum, that no compensation has been paid to date to the victims of the earlier violence, and none of those responsible have been punished.

The C.W.C. is also compelled to reiterate that the plantation workers have been consistently denied wage increases, educational, medical, social and welfare benefits extended to other sectors of the population which is once again a blatant act of discrimination. In this context, the granting of citizenship alone is insufficient as evidenced by the acts of discrimination and violence even against Tamil citizens of Sri Lanka. There should be a complete change of attitude for which the essential pre-requisite is the restructuring and re-orientation of the administrative machinery.

The C.W.C. therefore authorises the office bearers - to discuss with His Excellency the President the various immediate and long term measures that need to be taken to enable the people of Indian origin to continue to live in this country with dignity, safety and security as equals with the rest of the population within the framework of a united Sri Lanka, and to report back the results of such discussions and settlement within one month from the date of this meeting."

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To stem this, President Junius Jayewardene advocated some measure of autonomy for the Tamils. But the Sinhalese majority wouldn't buy it. It preferred increasing repression, led by the forces of law and order, which Mr. Jayewardene now no longer can control. If he ordered them to stop killing Tamils, his troops might replace him with the usual, cold-eyed, slimy colonel who is, no doubt, lurking under some stone, plotting.

Presumably to forestall a military take-over, Mr. Jayewardene has now outlawed all separatist movements and said that people who advocate division of the country would be stripped of their civil rights. Sri Lanka's president has thus turned his back on his earlier willingness to give the Tamils some autonomy.

And in so doing, he leaves them no choice but to become guerrillas. What else can they do when legitimate political action is denied them and they lose all their rights if they hold views the Sinhalese majority rejects? It is through such denial of civic rights that long-lasting, bloody guerrilla wars are made.

*By kind courtesy of The GAZETTE, Montreal (Editorial, July 30, 1983)*

## ASIANS IN UK DEMAND INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY

The Asian Collective, an umbrella organisation of Asians living in the UK, held a largely attended meeting at County Hall, London on August 25 to protest against the violence unleashed upon the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Representatives from several political organisations also spoke at the Meeting condemning the State-sponsored terrorism against the Tamil people.

The following resolution was passed unanimously:

THIS MEETING ORGANISED BY THE ASIAN COLLECTIVE OF EAST LONDON CONDEMNS THE STATE ORGANISED BARBARIC VIOLENCE ON THE TAMILS OF SRI LANKA

THE MEETING DEMANDS:

1. IMMEDIATE RELIEF FOR TAMIL REFUGEES, SUPERVISED BY TAMIL-SPEAKING PEOPLE.
2. IMMEDIATE REPEAL OF THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT.
3. RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.

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## *ANTI-SECESSION LAW WILL DIVIDE THE COUNTRY: SIRIMAVO*

COLOMBO, Aug.21.

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, President of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and former Prime Minister, has said that the anti-secession law, adopted by the country's Parliament early this month, would not help solve the Tamil minority problem and would automatically divide the coun try.

In an interview, Mrs. Bandaranaike, whose party had voted for the law, said: "This northern (Tamil) members of Parliament may not disavow separation. Then what will be the position. They may lose their parliamentary seats. Will they keep quiet after that. No. They will always find an alternative to carry out their campaign. They may receive sympathy internationally. At the same time the Tamil people in this country will not have an opportunity to express their views through the supreme legislature of the country. This sort of legislation will be applicable to peace-loving people, but the terrorists will not pay heed to the law", she said.

Mrs. Bandaranaike added: "It is my view that the Sixth Constitutional Amendment (banning secessionism) would automatically divide the country since the Tamil-speaking people will not be represented in the future legislatures.

"I hope tha there should be a continuous dialogue among all political parties with a view to finding a solution for them. We also consider helping the Government if they need our assistance to find a permanent solution for this".

She said the President, Mr. Jayewardene, had attempted to point out that the recent lawlessness was part of the activities of a certain political group. "I think we should abandon such morbid ideas and work for the betterment of the people". - PTI.

By kind courtesy of "The Hindu", 22.8.83.

## SCOT - REFUGEES RELIEF FUND.

Since launching our appeal in the last issue of 'Tamil Times', we have received donations amounting to £7000, including £2700 from Tamil expatriates in Papua New Guinea.

From the amounts received we have already provided £ 6000 to meet immediate relief needs - £3000 for the Jaffna Rehabilitation Society which is handling the largest number of refugees and the balance £ 3000 for relief organisations in Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Kandy and other centres.

Our suport is being chanelled through Oxfam who (through their representative, Mr. Jim Howard) have established links with the local voluntary organisations engaged in relief work in the various areas. The Jaffna Rehabilitation Society, headed by Dr. Yoga Pasupathi, includes the Lions and Rotary Clubs, the Bishop of Jaffna and other leading citizens.

If you wish to support SCOT's relief and rehabilitation work, please send your donations (however small) to the Treasurer, SCOT, 24 Brook Avenue, Edgware, Middlesex HA8 9XV. Cheques should be drawn and crossed in favour of 'SCOT'

## PROTEST IN SWITZERLAND

Eela Tamil Mantram (Switzerland) and Sri Lanka Solidarity Committee (Geneva) demonstrated opposite the United Nations in Geneva on 5th August 1983. Tamils in and around Switzerland - over 150 - gathered with permission of Geneva police authorities for the demonstration which started at 9 a.m. and terminated by 4 p.m.

The demonstration was televised and broadcast throughout Switzerland.

**Washing ones hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful and not to be neutral.**

**PAULA FREIRE.**

## GHANAPATHY TEMPLE, WIMBLEDON, LONDON

The Vinayaga Chathurthi and Second Anniversary Celebrations of the temple will be held on Saturday and Sunday, 10th and 11th September 1983 at the Shree Ghanapathy Temple, 123/133 Effra Road, Wimbledon, London SW19. The highlights shall be the 108 Sanga Abhisekam and Lakshacharchanai. For further details please telephone 01-542 7482

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## JAYAWARDENE BLOWS HOT AND COLD.

President Jayawardene has of late been blowing hot and cold. After an initial display of truculence, so characteristic of the typical bully, in which he refused to admit any wrong doing, he made a sudden climb down and accepted that the holocaust in Sri Lanka represented not only a social and political crisis but also that it was at its deepest level a crisis of civilisation itself.

There are other truths that also have been revealed. The Sinhalese leader accepted that he had indeed approached the US, Britain, Pakistan and Australia for military aid. As a sop, he threw in India too, but that was a mere face-saver. Thus, the accusation first made by the UPI correspondent (for which he was expelled from Sri Lanka) was only too true.

In sending his brother, Hector, to Delhi to parley with Mrs Gandhi, the President showed a glimmer of wisdom. Whether it will save his country from disintegration is, however, an open question. Many observers would be inclined to believe that concessions he now envisages for his country's Tamil population are too little and have come too late. But whether even these can be delivered is doubtful. His Sinhalese hardliners seem unlikely to countenance any concessions. According to the gospel preached by his minister,Cyril Matthew, the only good Tamil is a dead Tamil and "a final solution" of the Tamil problem along, presumably, the lines once advocated by the Nazis: Himmler is the one sure remedy for Sri Lanka's ills.

Meanwhile, the Sri Lankan army is little better than a rabble of rapists and killers who entered wholeheartedlv in the anti-Tamil riots (another of Jayawardene's admissions) and would no doubt do so again, given the opportunity. Such is the volatile atmosphere in the country that Indian diplomats who were subjected to wilful attack by Sinhalese mobs might be given another dose of the same treatment.

This being the situation, Mr Jayawardene is having to appease his thuggish supporters at home and try at the same time to placate a shocked and disturbed public opinion abroad. It is well nigh an impossible task. As you sow,so shall you reap. The Sri Lankan President is reaping the whirlwind.

*By kind courtesy of* **"New Life"**, *26.8.83.*

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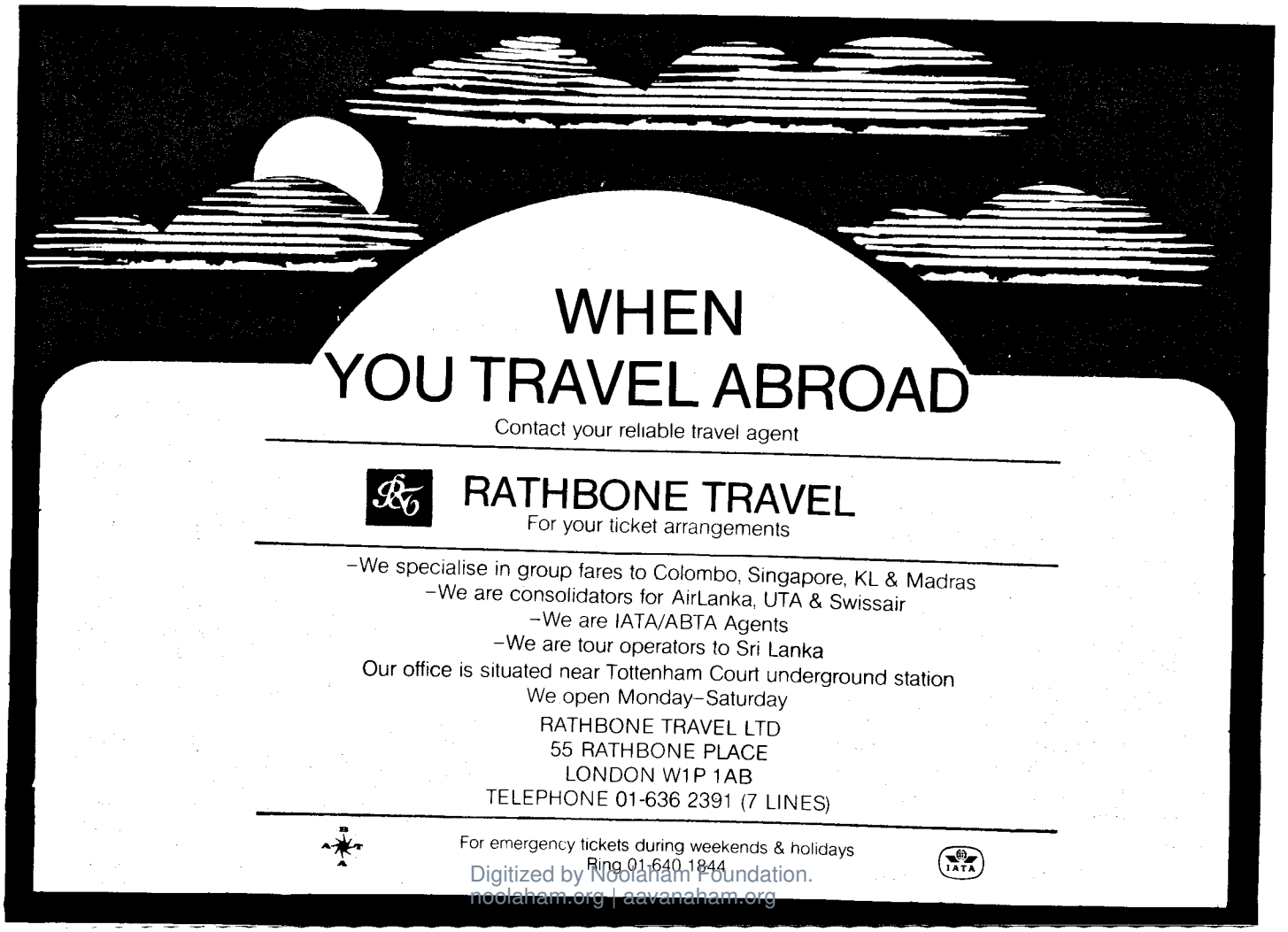

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*people who came to burn and pillage, carried lists of names and addresses. They knew exactly where to go. They didn't search. They looked at a piece of paper, looked at a number and there they were. Therefore, there was pre-planning. We now understand from the information in the hands of the Government that these names and addresses were taken from the Register of Electors, from the Parliamentary Voters Lists, and were prepared very much in advance for an occasion such as this, the timing of which was left for various events which might or might not have happened, or might or might not have been engineered."*

Having thus correctly assessed the nature and extent of the violence, the government have come up with a most despicable and scandalous story that some left parties were instrumental in inciting the July anti-Tamil rioting. Specifically the Nava Sama Samaj Party (NSSP), the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) and the Communist Party (CP-Moscow) have been banned and their leading members taken into custody. Vasudeva Nanyakkara, the leader of the NSSP and Rohana Wijeweera, the leader of the JVP have gone into hiding fearing that they might be killed in the same manner as the 55 Tamil detainees massacred in the Welikade prison. Rewards of Rs. 50,000 have been announced for any information leading to the arrest of either leader.

The Sri Lankan government, from the President downwards, is using the county's State controlled media network to virtually hound those connected with the NSSP and JVP. Vasudeva in particular has been singled out for vicious attacks. Professor Tilak Ratnakara, reputed to be a pro-Sinhala Buddhist extremist, has appeared on TV dissecting and analysing Vasudeava's election speeches and party manifesto to depict him as an ally of the "Tigers", as a person who was prepared to betray the Sinhalese to the Tamils etc. We have no reason to hold a brief for the political or ideological positions of the NSSP or, for that matter any other left party. At best, on the national question, the NSSP stood for the right of self determination, a principle recognised by the United Nations Covenants. But we are certain they never possitively advocated separation. We are not unaware of the serious polemical arguments between some Tamil groups whic believed in Eelam and the NSSP on this very issue. However, the propaganda machinary of the government is working full blast arousing the base chauvinistic instincts of the Sinhalese people against the left parties with a view to destroying them politically and organisationally.

CONTEMPTIBLE ATTEMPT

The attempt on the part of the government to put the blame on the left for the attacks against the Tamils is not only contemptible but also untenable for several reasons:

* While it is true that the two traditional left parties, the LSSP and the CP, succumbed to the racialist policies of the SLFP in a bid to enter into coalition governments, by and large, the left parties have been more sympathetic to the problems of the Tamil speaking people. Their positions with regard to the use of Tamil language and the rights of plantation workers are well known.
* The left parties, particularly the NSSP and the JVP have publicly denounced the racist policies of the two major mainstream Sinhala parties, the UNP and SLFP.
* They have denounced at all times racial attacks upon the Tamil people.
* These parties derive their support mainly from trade unions and industrial workers and it is inconceivable that they would engage in a campaign to destroy the factories in which their supporters worked and render them unemployed.
* Politically and organisationally speaking, these parties are very small with little popular support either among the Sinhalese or Tamils. Even if they wanted to, they could not have mustered the financial, organisational or manpower resources that went into the planning and execution of the recent islandwide attacks upon the Tamils and their property.
* There is incontrovertible evidence that the security forces either actively participated in or failed to prevent the violence against the Tamil people. Army trucks had been used as battering rams to gain entry through iron gates of factories which were later burnt down. Is it suggested that the country's security forces had been completely taken over by these two small left parties?
* The government publicly confessed tha in Trincomalee the Navy mutinied and went berserk burning down the city and its suburbs. Does the government want anyone to believe this too was the work of the left parties?

For these reasons and for a multitude of other reasons, the Tamil speaking people or for a multitude of other reasons, the Tamil speaking people or for that matter the rest of the world would not believe the government's attempt to find scapegoats in these left parties. The Tamil people only know too well that the attacks upon them begining in 1956 had always been initiated by the supporters of the two Sinhala rightwing parties, the UNP and the SLFP. The UNP more so because, since it came to power in July 1977, the Tamils have been subjected to widespread violence c more than five occasions.

Having permitted the most vicious rac attack on the Tamils and their proper and turned them into a community destitutes, the government and t hirelings in the media have begu witch-hunt against the left. Fanning t flames of Sinhala chauvinism and Bu dhist bigotry, fascist forces are at wo to foist upon the country a totalitaria regime. Uncle Sam is waiting in wings to set up bases in Trincoma and convert Sri Lanka into a ban republic.

The destruction in the riots of over 6C factories has resulted in over 100,000 Sinhalese workers becoming unemployed overnight. The economy of the country is in total disarray and the only way open to the government is to submit to the dictates of the International Monetary Fund and impose further economic burdens upon the people. Already prices of essential consumer commodities have gone through the roof making it impossible for the average Sinhalese (forgr the Tamils for the moment) to mak ends meet. There would and must come a time when anti-Tamil racist drugs loose their potency and realities of economic hardship begin to surface in the form of popular unheavals. the govern ment and its advisers know this only to well and therefore they have alread commenced their campaign of pre-emp tive strikes against the left.

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4. AN INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY INTC THE CAUSE OF THE CURRENT HOL CAUST (TO INCLUDE THE KILLIN OF POLITICAL DETAINEES AT WE KADA PRISON)
5. RIGHT OF SELF DETERMINATIC AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE FO THE TAMIL SPEAKING PEOPLE O SRI LANKA.

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